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THE
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THE CHURCH'S ONE FOUNDATION

THERE are three views concerning the science and the object of our Christian faith which mark the present state of opinion on this vital theme.

First we have the group of men, scholars and philosophers rather than theologians, who detach the historic Jesus entirely from the living Christ, so far as continuity of person and action goes. The extreme spirits among them treat the idea of a living Christ as an *exitiosa superstitio*, when they use plain language. The matter of their Christianity is but a Christian principle or an ideal Christ, to which the historic Jesus contributed but as a supreme seer might. And such ideas as His own pre-existence, grace, resurrection, redemption, and even sin are not contained in the teaching of this seer, nor suggested by His life; but He has been submerged by them. They were imported into the Church even within New Testament times, by men like Paul, who were deeply imbued with notions current in Judaism and drawn originally from Babylonian and Egyptian speculation. Just as half-a-century ago we were asked to account for New Testament theology by Hellenic influences from the West, so now we are

bidden explain it by Semitic influences of a gnostic character from oriental peoples outside of the ethical monotheism of Israel. Paulinism thus becomes a mere syncretism foisted on the historic Jesus. Christ, it is said, was not a Christian if the Pauline system be Christianity. Paul began the fatal error of Christian history—the error of identifying the Christian principle with the person of Christ.

We should welcome any light upon the historic origin of ideas which suffused the spiritual world into which Christ came, and which offered a calculus for handling the reality that entered our experience in His fullness. But all oriental doctrines of redemption were but speculative till God's act of real life came in the Cross. The great Pauline ideas, in so far as they existed before Christ, and outside His circle, were not heaped mythically upon the prophet of Nazareth, but were seized by the unutterable experience of Him, and used as a providential language, however inadequate, to convey some notion of what He had done and become for His own. They were the prolegomena of revelation; and themselves in their degree revealed. But the core of Paul's theology was by his own account delivered to him from the other disciples. And we have no more right to isolate the death and resurrection of Jesus from His subsequent life, and His life now, than from His earthly life preceding.

A second group would include those who do find the ground of our Christian faith in the personal word, life, suffering, and work of the historic Jesus. The historic Christ is the inner life of Jesus expressed in these things, and printing itself as the full and final revelation of the Father upon the heart and conscience of those who first came under His influence thirsting for a divine kingdom and eternal life.

To this school (if school we may call it) the death of Christ is the sealing of His life's revelation and effect rather than anything more. And His resurrection and continued life form more of a corollary than a vital element—in the faith

of the individual at least. The essential thing here is not, as in the previous group, humanity's ideal Christ planted on Jesus, but God's historic revelation of His grace in Him. On the other hand, the sole action of this Christ is upon man, and not upon God. It is historic action; and it continues to be historic, even if caused by the living Christ to-day. It is action on man and on his evolution; and the work of Christ has no bearing on God. Our justification is our progressive sanctification. The necessity for His death lay only in the actual subjective condition to which man had come. It was a sacrifice to the hardness of our hearts. It was to soften them. The 'must' lay not in any demand arising out of the holy nature of God and its satisfaction, but in the ignorance or self-will of man. At bottom Christ was not the one Redeemer but the supreme Impressionist.

This position is associated more or less with the name of Ritschl, following on Schleiermacher. And it is not to be denied that it has its place or right in an evangelical church, even if we think it is incomplete, and inadequate to the real moral situation of man. Its head-quarters are in the Gospels rather than the Epistles. But its centre of gravity is still Hebraic, not gnostic, and its line of descent runs through the Old Testament. It is not oriental in any other and more pagan sense.

The third group consists of those who urge that the object of our faith is not primarily the Christ of the Gospels but the whole New Testament Christ, the whole biblical Christ, taken as a unity, without, of course, insistence on historic or speculative details. The total effect of Jesus, they say, was something larger and deeper than the second group allows. It was something whose essential genius is expanded in the theology of the Epistles, and continued in the evangelical and catholic tradition of the Church. When Christ rose in the soul of the apostles, and especially Paul, it meant as much for history (though not for Eternity) as when He rose from His grave. The faith of the first disciples and of all the truest

believers has been a faith in Christ as the objective conqueror of sin, guilt, death, and woe, and a propitiation in some sense to God (though made by God) and not to man alone. Much turns in this view on the essential and supreme place of the risen, the living, reigning, and governing Christ, and upon the effective and permanent relation of His death not only to the demands of man's sin but still more to those of God's holiness. It is urged that the death of Christ was more than a supreme testimony enacted by God to man, and that in some sense God's judgement of sin fell on Him and He took the chastisement of our peace.

Now there is one note which is common to the last two groups I have named, and which is to both equally vital. And that is the supreme Reformation note of the free, unbought, saving *grace* of God to our sin, a revelation made in Christ's redemption once for all, to an experimental faith on our part which is faith in that grace and nothing else. That is the gospel. That is Christianity.

A dream which has much engaged some minds is the surmise of what it might be for Christianity if all sections of Christians should ever be persuaded in deed and truth to make this matter of grace the one article of the Church by which it stands or falls. It is simply the Reformation doctrine of justification by faith, only stated objectively instead of subjectively, as the time requires. There was no undue subjectivity about that doctrine in the faith of the Reformation age, partly owing to the view of Scripture then current. But since that time a great change in the direction of subjectivity has passed over the Reformation Church. And an objective of a firm but simple kind has become an urgent need.

Faith has come to dwell on itself as a pietism; or else it has glided into a humanist love which calls only for a reciprocal love on the divine side, or vice versa. But while the counterpart of love is love, the counterpart of faith is grace. And if we are to surmount a mere genial theism it is necessary that our faith be stated, not in terms of itself

and the love it works to, but of its source and object—the God who in Christ is not merely loving to the lovable, but gracious to the malignant. Such a brief but pregnant statement would, of course, only be the potent minimum for the Church's comprehension; it would not express the maximum of the Church's thought. But it would be a whole theology *in nuce*, and theology neither as academic nor speculative, but as practical, experimental religion. It would have the power, and it would give the freedom, to produce a very varied theology or theologies. Indeed, it would make theologies a necessity. But it would be of the *esse* of the Church, while these were only of its *bene esse*. And the greatest scope would be given to all varieties of theoretical belief which were not plainly or professedly incompatible with the fundamental theme. I do not raise the question whether this central theme should take formal shape, with subscription, as is the tradition of some Churches, or remain a tacit and honourable understanding, as with others. Much would be gained if it were understood that the Church and its theology rests wholly and creatively on this eternal and living act of God's grace to sin, and that the renunciation of this alone puts people outside the pale of gospel ministry.

By grace, it should be said, is here meant on the one hand nothing vague and on the other nothing rigid: nothing merely sympathetic, as with the anti-dogmatists, and nothing subliminal, as with the Catholics. That is to say, it does not mean, taken loosely, the kindness of the Father to His children, nor, taken literally, a hierurgic charisma, a *qualitas infusa*, or state of the soul-substance more or less below consciousness. It is not condescension to human weakness, nor is it a favour shown to human worship. It is a matter of personal relation. But it is a relation of reconciliation and not mere complacency. It is the forgiving, redeeming act of holy love to human sin, an act ultimate and inexplicable. It is not mercy to our failure, or pity for our pain, but it is pardon for our sin. The vaguer uses of the word are certainly found in the Bible, and especially in

the Old Testament. Even with St. John the word means graciousness, and the more specific sense is with him gathered under the word love. It was St. Paul that went to the heart of the matter, seized the real mind of Christ, the core of revelation, and preached God's free and holy act of reconciliation by forgiveness as the central differentia of Christianity. And he appropriated to this use the word grace. It therefore designates that which makes Christianity divine and final, that which is the essence of Christ's person and work. It is grace in this sense that was the one motive of the Reformation. The call and genius of that movement was to recover the idea of grace from its Catholic deflection through pagan ethic and mystical metaphysic. It was to make the idea of grace once more religious, historic, and experiential, after being philosophized and theologized for more than a thousand years. Apart from that issue the Reformation would have been a mistake. If that issue be sent to the rear we may as well prepare for the re-Catholicizing of every Protestant land in due slow course. If love be preached, meaning thereby the apotheosis of human affection, and not what Paul meant distinctively by grace, then there is no such call for Protestantism as would justify its schism within the Church. A Roman Church reformed upon the lines of Erasmus would have been a better agent of the mere love of God than either the Lutheran or the Reformed, and far better than the humanist or rationalist Church, so popular for the hour. If the theologians are to be ruled out, let us take our Christianity from Christian scholars rather than from the *littérateurs*.

One ought not perhaps to speak as I have done of the *mere* love in God. I mean nothing irreverent, for in so speaking I refer really to something which is not in Him—a love which is not holy and is not made perfect in grace, a love which is gracious by the way instead of culminating in grace, which exercises forgiveness as but an incident in His relations with man instead of as a redemption, re-creation, reconstitution of the race. *The* gift in grace is

not mere kindness, and it is not directly moral reformation, but it is religious pardon as a new life with all moral amendment latent in it. It is religious redemption under moral conditions (secured in the propitiation). What comes to us primarily is not a *qualitas infusa*, an *altior virtus*, a miraculous *habitus* of the man, but a personal reconciliation with God. It is rather an attitude, or disposition, or experience, than an actual state. It is not charismatic but pneumatic, not a gift to life but the gift of life. It is entirely bound up with the person and work of Christ as the power of God unto salvation. Faith is the soul's answer to His grace, it is not the heart's answer to love. It is nothing else than personal trust in the personal God in Christ, the personal response to, and appropriation of, God's own personal and eternal act of pardoning and redeeming grace in Christ. It has intellectual implicates, of course, as a poem implies truths which do not rise to the surface and take explicit shape. Only the assent does not precede the trust, but is included or 'suspended' in it. Knowledge, assent, and trust are not three separate acts, but three factors in the one act of faith—just as faith, hope, and love, these three, 'abideth' as the singular totality of the Christian life—with the love ever working to the top, but possible only as the fruitage of the rest. And the only vehicle of grace is neither a sacrament nor is it human nature at its best in Jesus, but it is the Word of God—first as Christ, then as the Holy Spirit in Bible and in Church. Grace is no attribute of God, but the content and action of God's will; yet it is not a will of general beneficence for our well-being, but of universal mercy for our salvation, a will not merely to bless the dear but to redeem the lost. The Christian idea of God in His one revelation in Christ is not a benignant God who redeems, but a redeeming God who blesses. By God's grace, then, is meant that distinctive and central element in Christianity which I am at some pains to define. One would deprecate anything like a hypostasis of a divine attribute in speaking of the grace of God. Grace, so far from being one of God's attributes,

is the very being and person of God in a certain action on us. The word has no other sense than is implied in the more accurate phrase, a gracious God. When this gracious God became incarnate in Christ He did not send either an agent, a function, or a factor. He came. The whole Godhead was there in the sense of being involved in our redemption.¹

We are all impressed by the evils of our divisions. It is the principle of unity that we lack and look for. We do not concentrate. We waste the attention, the seriousness, the passion, that should move us there on secondary issues, which by themselves distract and enfeeble us. We try to draw from low and outlying sources power which can only flow from the upper springs. We shall never really attain the unity of the Church, or its effect on the world,

¹ Is it not very striking that the deadly foes of Christ were men who believed passionately in creed, conduct, and charity? His slayers were people who believed to the death in God and in forgiveness, in alms to the poor, and in sympathy to the sorrowful. God was their passion, righteousness their watchword, redemption their grand hope, and benevolence nothing less than a sacrament. Such was Pharisaism. So much it had in common with Christ. The deadly conflict was not about monotheism, pardon, nor philanthropy. But it was about a matter which has sunk with us to a mere theologoumenon outside 'simple Bible teaching'; it was about the terms of forgiveness. There lies the essence of Christianity. The Pharisee said salvation was a *justificatio justi*, his vindication. The righteous were forgiven their shortcomings out of regard to the matters on which they did not come short. Just as we say that the good side of human nature will at last submerge and justify the rest. But Christ said it was a *justificatio injusti*, a forgiveness unaffected by the good in the sinner, and wholly due to the free grace of God, a grace as free, unbought, undeserved, and inexplicable as the original choice of Israel. For Christ no less than for Paul the whole Christian issue turned on this grace of God to wickedness, not on mere mercy to failure; and it was not for a loving God merely, but for a gracious God He died. If we let that go, no gospel of love alone will save us from Pharisaism, which will come by the way of Catholicism and its semi-Pelagian humanism. And to let it go theologically is nothing to letting it go practically, as so much of our usage is. A study of Pharisaism on its best side greatly clears the real Christian issue. And we have abundant documents for it in much current religion which denounces Pharisaism with freedom and effect.

till we count all things as dust that we may prize God's grace. These words are not banal. They contemplate a Church of one article with all the rest in its bosom, and a theology which would only set forth the scientific implicates of grace. This is not mutilation, not minimism, but a redistribution of accent, organization, and proportion. We surely do not deny other doctrines when we rally on the doctrine of grace, which issues and organizes them all freely. Let this be the one article of every organized Church, and let us have freedom for every position that does not make it impossible.

In so far as Christianity is doctrinal it has but this one doctrine, which contains all the rest in the germ. The revision of doctrine which we require is simply allowing grace to organize truth and adjust its perspective. Doctrines, indeed, do not save. There are no saving doctrines. We have no dogmas, or system of dogmas, delivered us full grown, like the first Adam, and redemptive, like the Second. We have no doctrine which we can lift over bodily from the Bible. The Bible is not a manual of doctrine for all time. It is not its function to present us with finished theology. Its theology is not condensed, but germinal, not complete, but mighty.¹

But if there are no saving doctrines, in the sense of doctrines that save, there is and must be a doctrine of salvation. And it is the doctrine of Christ's grace, of the gospel deed for the conscience. We cannot describe Christ as different from us only in degree and not in kind, simply because all we really get then is man's deed in Christ; it is not God's grace for man. And if Christ represent but the height of human achievement, we have no authority for man or his thought. But if we are objectively right in our experience of God's grace in Christ, we have the source, test, and key to all theologies, and the condition of better theologies yet to be. Yes, better yet to be! We

¹ Doctrine does not come directly from the Bible. It comes indirectly through the faith and Church the Bible makes. If the Bible were our doctrinal compendium it would need and lead to an infallible interpreter in a Church; and so we reach Rome and its refusal of the Bible to its people.

must take no step backward unless it be for the run to leap forward. The new Reformation idea of faith has not yet had its scope in this matter. The Reformation theology was mainly Catholic; it was the Reformation religion, its living faith, that made the new departure and carried in its bosom the new theology. The Reformation, in its fight for a gospel existence, had to take over, and leave with us, a great mass of Christian truth framed on the Catholic idea which the whole movement rose to destroy, namely, that the mind's assent to truth was a greater thing than the will's obedience to grace. The confusions of Protestantism today are due to the native incompatibility of these two positions—the supremacy of assent and the supremacy of faith. And our scheme of truth has not yet been thoroughly reorganized by the vital current of the evangelical experience. The theology of the Reformation is not yet quite subdued to the religion of the Reformation. Its belief does not duly express its faith. And why does the reconstruction hang back? Because the Churches are complacently failing that religion, failing that Reformation idea, that revolutionary idea of faith as the answer to grace. They are still more concerned with pity than with faith. And as to faith they still make it too much the answer to truth. Or else they make it but the answer to love. And both these tendencies are those of Roman Catholicism. It is Catholic to worship orthodoxy stiffly with the old people. And it is Catholic to worship love joyfully with the young. The Protestant, the New Testament, idea of faith is the penitent worship with tears and spikenard, with shame and glory, of God's justifying grace. In Protestantism the foundation of all Christian theology has been and must be the antithesis of grace and sin, of gospel and law. The Reformers, like Melancthon, said it was only when we realized this that we began to be intelligent Christians. The one central doctrine of grace has in it the promise and the potency of all the truth, love, joy, and sanctity that the future can demand from the Bible and the Church.

P. T. FORSYTH.

THE ORIGIN OF LIVING ORGANISMS

The Origin of Life. By J. BUTLER BURKE. (London : Chapman & Hall. 1906.)

Studies in Heterogenesis. By H. CHARLTON BASTIAN. (London : Williams & Norgate. 1903.)

Nature and Origin of Living Matter. By H. CHARLTON BASTIAN. (London : T. Fisher Unwin. 1905.)

General Physiology. By MAX VERWORN. Translated by F. S. Lee. (London : Macmillan & Co. 1899.)

THE problem of the origin of living creatures upon the earth is a very old one, and it is still unsolved. Various investigators, such as Dr. H. Charlton Bastian and Mr. J. Butler Burke, have recently made contributions to the perennial discussion, and it may be useful to consider their case and to try to make the general scientific position clear.

Since it is difficult to say what 'Life' really is, since the word has many different significances to different minds, since it is a *petitio principii* to assume that it ever began, we have entitled our contribution 'The Origin of Living Organisms.' That living creatures must once have had a beginning upon this earth of ours is obvious. They have had possession for millions of years, but sometime, somehow, they must have begun. For the earth was once in a state quite incompatible with the life of any kind of living creature we know of. How, then, are we to think of living creatures beginning?

Preyer's Suggestion.

To the physiologist Prof. Wilhelm Preyer we owe the suggestion that living matter is as old as the solar

system or older, that living creatures such as we know began to be when the earth became fit to be their home, that they arose, however, not from the inorganic, but from life that could live in the fire-mist. It was not, indeed, the protoplasm we know that was encradled in the nebula; it was a kind of movement, a particular kind of dance, which is from all eternity. What we call the inorganic is but the excretion and residue of the primitive life, 'of the gigantic, cooling, primaeval organisms, whose breath perchance was luminous iron-vapour, whose blood was liquid metal, and whose food was meteorites'! Mechanically considered, a living creature is a particular collocation of common chemical elements which exist in other collocations all around us, and its activity, from the same point of view, is but a peculiarly intricate molecular dance; but do we gain anything by assuming that the secret of vital motion was hidden in the nebula and became explicitly embodied when the conditions of cooling permitted? Is not Preyer's primaeval organism an *ignis fatuus*, and his conception of life too wide to be useful? We are inquiring into the origin of a kind of activity—a set of sequences—which we call life, and of material systems which we call living creatures, and we are not helped by the suggestion that since all life, mechanically considered, is a particular kind of motion, the secret of life may have been implicit in the motions of the primitive nebulae. Our conception of organic life must be based on the organisms we know. It is interesting, however, to note that Preyer strongly opposed the view that organic substance could arise or could have arisen from inorganic substance, the living from the not-living; in fact, the reverse supposition appeared to him much more tenable.

Suggestion of Richter, Helmholtz, Kelvin.

In 1865 H. E. Richter suggested the idea that germs of life are continually being thrown off from the heavenly bodies, and that some of these long ago found their way to our earth. He could not think of life beginning; his

dictum was '*Omne vivum ab aeternitate e cellula.*' His problem was one of transport, and he pictured the eternal cells wandering in the wilderness of space, finding here and there an oasis, wherein to rest, to feed, to grow, to multiply, to evolve. When the earth was ready for them, they were ready for it. They came undying from afar, and in their new home founded a new dynasty. It reads like a *reductio ad absurdum* of fortuitousness.

To Helmholtz (1884) and Sir William Thomson (Lord Kelvin) the same idea occurred, that germs of life may have come to the earth embosomed in meteorites. Helmholtz pointed out that meteoric stones sometimes contain hydrocarbon compounds, that large stones in passing through our atmosphere remain cool inside though greatly heated on their surface. 'Who can say whether these bodies that swarm everywhere through space do not spread also the germs of life wherever a new world has become capable of affording a dwelling-place to organic creatures? . . . It appears to me to be a wholly correct scientific procedure, when all our endeavours to produce organisms out of lifeless substance are thwarted, to question whether after all life has ever arisen, whether it may not be even as old as matter, and whether its germs, passed from one world to another, may not have developed where they found favourable soil.'

As to the question of transport, we cannot deny the possibility of germs of protoplasmic life being borne to the Earth by meteorites, though the conditions of intense cold in space and intense heat when passing through our atmosphere rather tax our faith. As to the idea of protoplasmic life being eternal, we can only say that (1) the word 'eternal' is irrelevant in scientific discourse, (2) that the notion of such complex substances as proteids being primitive is quite against the tenor of modern theories of inorganic evolution, and (3) that it is difficult to conceive of anything like the protoplasm we know existing in such an environment as a nebulous mass afforded.

The milder form of the hypothesis which Lord Kelvin

suggested was simply one of transport; he wisely said nothing about 'eternal cells' or any such thing; he merely shifted the responsibility of the problem of the origin of living organisms off the shoulders of our planet. They originated somewhere, somehow, and by-and-by came to us.

The Alternatives.

So far, then, the suggestions are, (a) that the physical basis of life is as old as the solar system, and (b) that germs of living creatures may have come from elsewhere to our Earth. Apart from an abandonment of the problem as scientifically insoluble, apart, that is to say, from the view that living creatures began to be upon the earth in some way which cannot be scientifically formulated, there is one other possible view, that suggested by the terms spontaneous generation, or abiogenesis. It seems to many quite conceivable that what we call living evolved from what we call not-living.

Ancient Belief in Spontaneous Generation.

The idea that living creatures may have arisen or do still arise from not-living material is very old and long-lived. We find it expressed at dates so various as those represented by the names of Aristotle, Lucretius, Augustine, Luther, and Harvey. In days when putrefaction was not understood, when no one suspected that germs of minute organisms could be readily transported by air-currents, when the life-history of parasites was quite obscure, it was not unnatural that the appearance of numerous living creatures in a dead body or out of apparently lifeless mud or in an infusion of organic matter should be misinterpreted as due to spontaneous generation. The earth was still the fruitful mother, ever ready to produce afresh.

But after Redi and others had shown that, if simple precautions be taken, such as screening the dead flesh from flies, no visible living creatures appeared out of rottenness, the doctrine of abiogenesis shifted its ground. That large

highly organized living creatures could directly arise from the not-living was rejected as incredible, but it was maintained that this might be the origin of simple microscopic creatures, such as bacteria and infusorians. Thus began a long and fruitful controversy, which was practically ended by the experiments of Tyndall and Pasteur, who satisfied all careful workers that the conclusion *omne vivum e vivo* was empirically accurate.

The Modern Verdict.

Thus, apart from a small minority, represented by Dr. Charlton Bastian, modern biologists have quite abandoned the idea that even the simplest known micro-organism ever arises spontaneously. Practically all agree that, as far as observations and experiments go, a form of life always arises from a similar antecedent form of life—*omne vivum e vivo*. But it is one thing to accept this summation of present-day experience and quite another thing to say that the not-living never did or never could give rise to the living. In fact, a belief in an evolution of living things from not-living matter is held by a large number of prominent biologists. But it must be admitted that the belief is grounded rather on faith in the continuity of evolutionary processes than on any clear apprehension of the possible steps in abiogenesis.

Pflüger's Suggestion.

One of the few concrete suggestions is due to the physiologist Pflüger (1875), whose views will be found stated in Verworn's *General Physiology*. Pflüger maintained that it is the cyanogen radical (CN) which confers on the living proteid molecule its characteristic properties of self-decomposition and reconstruction. He indicated the similarities between cyanic acid (HCNO)—a product of the oxidation of cyanogen—and living proteid. 'This similarity is so great,' he said, 'that I might term cyanic acid a half-living molecule.' The beginning of organic life may possibly lie with cyanogen.

To the interesting question : How does cyanogen arise ? the suggestive answer is given, that cyanogen and its compounds arise in an incandescent heat when the necessary nitrogeous compounds are present. ' Accordingly, nothing is clearer than the possibility of the formation of cyanogen compounds when the earth was wholly or partially in a fiery or heated state. . . . All facts of chemistry point to fire as the force that has produced by synthesis the constituents of proteid. In other words, life is derived from fire, and its fundamental conditions were laid down at a time when the earth was still an incandescent ball.

' If now we consider the immeasurably long time during which the cooling of the earth's surface dragged itself slowly along, cyanogen and the compounds that contain cyanogen- and hydrocarbon-substances had time and opportunity to indulge extensively in their great tendency towards transformation and polymerization, and to pass over with the aid of oxygen, and later of water and salts, into that self-destructive proteid, living matter.'

The distinguished physiologist sums up : ' Accordingly, I would say that the first proteid to arise was living matter, endowed in all its radicals with the property of vigorously attracting similar constituents, adding them chemically to its molecule, and thus growing *ad infinitum*. According to this idea, living proteid does not need to have a constant molecular weight; it is a huge molecule undergoing constant, never-ending formation and constant decomposition, and probably behaves towards the usual chemical molecules as the sun behaves towards small meteors.'

Prof. Max Verworn, another prominent physiologist, adopts Pflüger's suggestion. ' The beginnings of living substance reach down into the time when the earth's surface was still incandescent. The compounds of cyanogen then present constitute the essential material from which living substance took its origin. With their property of ready decomposition they were forced into correlation with various kinds of compounds of carbon, whose origin was

due likewise to the great heat. When water was precipitated in the form of liquid upon the earth's surface, these compounds entered into chemical relations with the water and its dissolved salts and gases, and thus originated living proteids, i.e. extremely liable compounds, which, like other compounds containing the cyanogen radical, are distinguished by their tendency towards decomposition and polymerization, and which form the essential constituents of living substance. This first living substance, which was formed spontaneously out of lifeless substance, was very simple and showed no differentiations. It is very probable that it did not have the morphological value of cells, i.e. that its mass was not yet separated into different substances, such as nucleus and protoplasm, but rather was homogeneous in all its parts' (pp. 311-12).

Prof. E. Ray Lankester regards protoplasm as 'the result of a long and gradual evolution of chemical structure,' and has made the following interesting suggestion: 'A conceivable state of things is, that a vast amount of albuminoids and other such compounds had been brought into existence by those processes which culminated in the development of the first protoplasm, and it seems therefore likely enough that the first protoplasm fed upon these antecedent steps in its own evolution.' The hypothetical first organisms may have fed for a time on what might be called Nature's failures to make them, i.e. on carbon compounds antecedent to that particular collocation of proteids and other materials which formed the first viable 'firm' of organic molecules. But still the difficulty presses upon us: what is the nature of that bond which gives unity to the integrate of organic molecules which we call a simple living creature? What is the music to which the molecules dance? Transcendental answers abound, but we wish a scientific one.

The Apartness of Living Creatures.

To many it is *inconceivable* that living creatures could arise from not-living things, the inconceivability depending

on the view that is held of the apartness and uniqueness of what we call 'living.' The living creature, it is rightly pointed out, feeds and grows; it undergoes ceaseless change or metabolism, and passes through a cycle of changes; it is not merely a self-stoking, self-repairing engine, but a self-reproducing engine; it gives effective response to external stimuli, it profits by experience, it co-ordinates its activities into unified behaviour. Even among unicellular animals, as Jennings has shown, there are hints of mind. These are certainly distinctive features, but perhaps there is a tendency to exaggerate their distinctiveness. On the one hand many are apt to think too little of the capacities of the not-living. Though the crystal cannot, like the living organism, grow at the expense of material quite different from itself, still it grows before our eyes into a beautiful system. It can regrow lost parts, and a part can regrow the whole. Many inorganic things, such as drops of water, pass through a series of form-changes. A ferment, though of vital origin, is not a living substance, yet it induces an orderly series of chemical changes, very suggestive of protoplasmic metabolism. An engine (though confessedly a materialized human idea) is not living, yet it is a fine instance of co-ordinated activities; it does in a sense register and profit by its experiences. It is true that it does not reproduce, but neither do worker-bees. And as to the power of responding to stimulus, does not the barrel of gunpowder answer to the spark? To its own destruction, it may be objected, but are not all living creatures doing more or less slowly what the gunpowder does quickly? We admit the general validity of the statements that the living creature has the power of *effective* response, of *co-ordinating* its activities, of plastic adjustment and *adaptive* modifiability, of *reproducing* itself, and so on, and in higher organisms the cumulative effect of these insignia invests the creature with unique dignity when compared with inanimate systems; but our point is that it is not easy to find any absolute or universal criterion. One of the sharpest is from the chemical side,

that there is no life apart from proteids, and that there is nothing in the inanimate world so complex as proteids. Another, from the physical side, is that given by Prof. Joly: 'While the transfer of energy into any inanimate material system is attended by effects retardative to the transfer and conducive to dissipation, the transfer of energy into any animate material system is attended by effects conducive to transfer and retardative of dissipation.' But this is a general induction not applicable as a test in a difficult case.

The Quick and the Dead.

Difficulties are not lessened when we try to find absolute criteria between the quick and the dead. When we consider the frog hibernating in the mud or the snail sealed up within its shell, the earthworm frozen in the block of ice and yet surviving, or the seed sprouting after lying dry for a dozen years, are we so confident in our power of distinguishing the living from the dead? Many little animals of great complexity—such as threadworms (*Nematodes*), wheel-animalcules (*Rotifers*), bear-animalcules (*Tardigrada*), and water-fleas (*Entomostraca*)—may be kept as dry dust for years, and yet when water is supplied life emerges fresh and vigorous. That is to say, a familiar sequence of phenomena recommences. Sometimes it is the old body that seems to become reanimated, sometimes enclosed germs develop; it matters little, we have to deal with a state of 'latent life' or 'potential life.' The creatures were not dead, since they may live; yet beyond this potentiality—which we vaguely suppose to mean the persistence of a particular molecular architecture in the living substance—what characteristic of livingness did they possess?

Our general argument hitherto has been that what many have called the 'inconceivability' of living creatures arising from not-living material is partly due to an exaggerated estimate of the apartness or uniqueness of living

organisms. This exaggerated estimate must be corrected by a recognition of the intricacy and 'life-likeness' of many inanimate phenomena, and the relative simplicity of many of the forms and kinds of life, and also by facing the difficulty of discovering absolute, universal, and invariable criteria to distinguish between animate and inanimate systems and between the living and the dead. We now pass to consider various sets of facts which seem to some to lessen the gap between the living and the not-living.

CHEMICAL SYNTHESIS.

When the accurate chemical analysis of the organic substances composing plants and animals became possible in the early days of the nineteenth century, it was found that these were in no way peculiar as regards their elements. The living creature is built up of and produces combinations of common elements—carbon, hydrogen, oxygen, nitrogen, being the most essential, sulphur and phosphorus being also frequently present in the more complex substances. Thus those who thought it important to emphasize the chemical distinctions between the living and the not-living fell back on the view that it was in the *arrangement* of the elements that the uniqueness of organic substance lay. It was an architectural not a material distinction, and the architect was usually called Vital Force. For a time, moreover, the generalizations reached by the students of inorganic substances did not seem to fit in well with what was known in regard to the organic, and the breach was again widened. Gradually, however, the reaction came with increased knowledge; Berzelius and others showed that organic compounds could not be separated by any hard-and-fast line from inorganic compounds, but illustrated similar laws.

In 1828 the chemist Wöhler broke new ground by effecting the synthesis of urea—the characteristic waste product of higher animals. It is true that he did not build

up urea from its elements, since he started with cyanic acid, which would now be classed as an organic compound. This matters little, however, as the artificial production of cyanic acid from its elements has since been effected. About the same time (1826-8) Henry Hennell effected the synthesis of alcohol from ethylene.

These pioneer achievements were the beginning of the end of vital force as a chemical factor. One organic substance after another has been artificially synthesized. In 1895 the list included about 180 instances, and in the last ten years many have been added. As examples of these achievements in the artificial upbuilding of complex compounds from more or less simple materials we may mention oxalic acid, formic acid, citric acid, tartaric acid, salicylic acid, caffeine, indigo, and grape-sugar.

As to the bearing of chemical syntheses on the problem of life three notes must be made.

(a) The most characteristic substances in living creatures are the extremely complex compounds known as proteids, and no one has yet come near their artificial synthesis, though we find one of the foremost modern chemists, Kekulé, deliberately looking forward to the period when we shall be able to 'build up the formative elements of living organisms' in the laboratory.

(b) No one supposes that a living organism makes its organic compounds in the way in which many of them can be made in the laboratory. Many of the substances which the chemist forms by building up are formed in the organism by breaking-down—by a degradation of complex molecules into simpler ones. 'Thus,' as Prof. Meldola points out, 'oxalic acid has been directly synthesized from carbon dioxide by Kolbe and Dreschel by passing this gas over potassium or sodium amalgam heated to 360° C. Whether the plant makes oxalic acid directly out of carbon dioxide we cannot at present state; if it does, it certainly does not employ Kolbe and Dreschel's process.'

(c) Another point is that in these artificial chemical syntheses, man plays the part of a selective, directive

agent. It is man's touch or life's touch that selects the materials and sets the constructive process agoing. We do not hear of these syntheses occurring in nature apart from organisms or organic substances, except in very simple cases such as the formation of nitrite of ammonia when an electric discharge passes through damp atmosphere.

The results which man can achieve by the artificial selection of domesticated animals or cultivated plants have helped us to believe that much greater results may have been achieved by natural selection acting for millions of years on the continuous supply of variations which the protean character of organisms has afforded. And so it is argued that the results the chemist has achieved in artificially building up complex substances should help us to believe that similar syntheses occurring in nature may have led to the appearance of those proteids of which living matter is probably a mixture. But this argument has serious limitations. When we compare artificial selection and natural selection and strengthen our belief in the efficacy of the latter by pointing out what the former can effect, we have a strong case. The tendency that organisms have to vary is verifiable; the variations now occurring in Nature can be observed and measured; and the process of natural selection which takes the place of the breeder is also to some extent demonstrable. The argument seems entirely just.

But when we compare the artificial synthesis in the chemist's laboratory with the natural synthesis of carbon compounds supposed to have occurred when the living emerged from the not-living, we have a very different case. The occurrence of complex carbon compounds free in Nature, the tendency of these to vary and to build up more complex compounds, the appropriate environment required—all is very hypothetical. And while in our comparison of organisms evolving on the farm with organisms evolving in Nature we have the breeder's place taken by natural selection, we are at a loss to suggest what, in Nature's

hypothetical laboratory of chemical synthesis, could take the place of the chemist.

Prof. Japp's Caveat.

Here then it is appropriate to consider a warning from a prominent expert. In his Presidential Address to the Chemical Section of the British Association in 1889, Prof. F. R. Japp brought forward the following very interesting argument.

(1) 'Whenever we prepare artificially, starting either with the elements, or with symmetric compounds, any organic compound which, when it occurs as a natural product of the living organism, is optically active,¹ the primary product of our laboratory reactions, however closely it may in other respects resemble the natural product, differs from it in being optically inactive.'

(2) By a selective process, the detailed nature of which does not concern us here, the chemist can obtain from his synthesized symmetrical substances an asymmetrical optically active substance. They may be crystallizable into two sets of crystals which 'resemble one another in every respect, except that they are non-superposable—the one cannot be made to coincide in space with the other, just as a right hand will not fit into a left-hand glove. The one form is identical with the mirror image of the other; thus the mirror image of a right hand is a left hand. Such opposite hemihedral crystalline forms are termed *enantiomorphs*.' Now the intelligent operator can separate the two kinds of crystals (the enantiomorphs) and thus obtain a single optically active substance. Or he can set a living organism—say the mould, *Penicillium glaucum*—to work upon the solution, and it will produce a single asymmetric optically active substance.

¹ Substances are said to be optically active when they produce rotation of the plane of polarization of a ray of polarized light which passes through them. In the case of liquid substance it may be conceived of as due to a twisted arrangement of the atoms composing the molecules.

(3) Professor Japp was thus led to emphasize the difficulty of conceiving any mechanism in Nature which could account for the selective process involved in the origin of the first asymmetric organic compound, such as laevo-rotatory protein. 'No fortuitous concourse of atoms, even with all eternity for them to clash and combine in, could compass this feat of the formation of the first optically active organic compound.' 'The chance synthesis of the simplest optically active compound from inorganic materials is absolutely inconceivable. So also is the separation of two crystallized enantiomorphs under purely symmetric conditions.'

(4) Not content, however, with indicating the difficulty which the believer in abiogenesis has to face, Prof. Japp went on to say: 'I see no escape from the conclusion that, at the moment when life first arose, a directive force came into play—a force of precisely the same character as that which enables the intelligent operator, by the exercise of his will, to select out one crystallized enantiomorph and reject its asymmetric opposite.'

It cannot be said, however, that Prof. Japp's argument as to the inconceivability of the mechanical origin of the simplest optically active compound from inorganic materials has commended itself to all other authorities; and he himself withdrew the phrase 'absolutely inconceivable.' To critics who pointed out that '*chance* might produce an optically active substance, given enough trials and length of time to make them,' he pointed out that they seemed 'to be moving in that unreal world where a fount of type, if jumbled together sufficiently often, ends in setting up the text of *Hamlet*,' but in view of various possible origins suggested, he wrote, 'Although I no longer venture to speak of the *inconceivability* of any mechanical explanation of the production of *single optically active compounds asymmetric always in the same sense*, I am as convinced as ever of the *enormous improbability* of any such production under chance conditions.'

OTHER CONSIDERATIONS WHICH TEND TO LESSEN THE GAP
BETWEEN THE ANIMATE AND THE INANIMATE.

When we compare a drop of some not-living but very complex material, such as white of egg, with a living cell, we find that the latter has an intricate microscopically minute architecture, while the former is homogeneous. Both are very complex in their molecular constitution, but living matter has besides this a structural organization which is characteristic. It is sometimes like an intricate network, sometimes like a tangled skein, sometimes like a foam, and so on. This is an important distinction, but the edge is taken off it in two ways: (a) There are some simple organisms in which a complex structure has not been demonstrated, partly perhaps because of their minuteness, or partly because of our imperfect methods of observation. But it may also be that some of the simplest forms of life are relatively homogeneous. (b) It has also been found possible to imitate very successfully the minute structure of living matter and even part of its behaviour, by ingenious combinations of entirely non-living material.

Prof. O. Bütschli, of Heidelberg, has been prominent in this interesting kind of experiment, which may be called making mimic cells. Thus when finely powdered potassium carbonate is thoroughly mixed with olive oil which has been previously heated to a temperature of about 50° C., an acid from the oil splits up the carbonate, liberates carbon dioxide, and forms an extremely fine emulsion. Drops of this show a structure not unlike that of protoplasm, exhibit movements and streamings not unlike those of amoebae, and are, in short, *mimic cells*. Just as a working model may help us to understand the circulation of the blood, so these oil-emulsion drops may help us to understand the living cell, by bringing the strictly vital phenomena into greater prominence.

But let us go further and see how boldly the evolution idea is now being used by the chemists. Prof. R. K. Duncan writes as follows:—

Our negative unit on receiving mass becomes a 'corpuscle' endowed with the primary qualities of matter superimposed upon those of electricity. Corpuscles congregating into groups or various configurations constitute essentially the atoms of the chemical elements, locking up in these configurations super-terrific energies and leaving but 'a slight residual effect' as chemical affinity or gravitation with which we attempt to carry on the work of the world. These atoms, congregating in their turn as nebulae and under the slight residual force of gravitation condense into blazing suns. The suns decay in their temperature and become ever more and more complex in their constitution as the atoms lock themselves into multiple forms. We then see these multiple atoms developing up into the molecules of matter to form a world. We see the molecules growing ever more and more complex as the world grows colder until we attain to organic compounds. We see these organic compounds united to form living beings, and we see these living beings developing into countless forms, and after aeons of time, evolving into a dominant race which is Us.¹

We get the same impression of the vitalizing of the inanimate world from Prof. Darwin's Presidential Address at the South African meeting of the British Association (1905). 'By various lines of experiment it has been proved that the simplest of all atoms, namely that of hydrogen, consists of about 800 separate parts; while the number of parts in the atom of the denser metals must be counted by tens of thousands. These separate parts of the atom have been called corpuscles or electrons, and may be described as particles of negative electricity.' Thus the simplest particle of dust appears to have the complexity of a constellation.

In other words, the imaginative ideal constructions which the physicist is now impelled to make in his attempt to interpret the material universe are in their essence exceedingly kinetic—much more 'vital' in the wide sense than the ordinary man's conception of the activity of an animal body.

¹ *The New Knowledge*, p. 253.

Dr. Bastian's Position.

More than thirty years ago (1872) Dr. H. Charlton Bastian maintained that bacteria could arise *de novo* in organic fluid which had been subjected to a temperature sufficiently high to kill all germs previously present in the medium. To this the experts answered that Dr. Bastian's methods of sterilization were inadequate, or that he had not taken sufficient precautions to exclude the possibility of infection from without after the sterilization was accomplished. There was a practically unanimous verdict that the investigator had not proved his case.

It is interesting, however, to find that Dr. Bastian, with all the courage and conviction of a heretic, still holds to his position. He has re-expounded it in his *Studies on Heterogenesis* (1903), and in his *Nature and Origin of Living Matter* (1905), and has given a record of numerous patient experiments which he regards as substantiating his thesis.

Not only does Dr. Bastian believe that living organisms once originated from not-living material, he maintains that they do so here and now. What Pasteur looked out for in vain for a score of years—any hint of spontaneous generation, may be observed by those who are not blinded by prejudice. If an infusion of turnip or fresh beef is filtered through two layers of the finest Swedish paper, if a drop is placed on a clean slide, sealed up, and incubated for a few hours, multitudes of living particles appear where there were previously none of them. The sceptical interpretations are, that the germs of life were there all the time, or that they got in during some stage of the experiment, but Dr. Bastian argues vigorously in favour of his own interpretation, that the living organisms have been produced *de novo* in the fluid by a process of 'archebiosis.'

Dr. Bastian has made many flask experiments with superheated organic fluids, and he has been more favoured than other investigators, for he often finds evidence of archebiosis. Other workers always find that the greatly

and repeatedly heated organic fluids remain sterile for years, but this only proves that life does not arise under these severe conditions. We must give archebiosis a chance! Unluckily this chance usually means either that we leave an open door for infection or that our sterilization is imperfect. But the surer work we make of our sterilization, the more risk there is that we destroy what Dr. Bastian calls *the germinality of the fluids*. Again it becomes a question of the validity of various interpretations, and Dr. Bastian thinks that his critics strain the hypotheses of infection and of imperfect sterilization in their desire to avoid the hypothesis of archebiosis. When organisms do *not* appear in the sterilized medium, the sceptical investigator says, 'Biogenesis is confirmed,' whereas he ought to say, 'Unluckily I have gone too far and have destroyed good archebiotic material.' When organisms do appear in the sterilized medium, the sceptical investigator says, 'I have not been careful enough to make sure of sterilization and to exclude all infection from without'; but if he were not so slow of heart to believe he should say, 'Archebiosis still occurs.'

Dr. Bastian stands almost *solus contra mundum* in his belief in the present-day occurrence of archebiosis, and he is also almost, if not quite, alone in advocating another heresy, which he calls heterogenesis, namely, that a living creature, or part of a living creature, may give rise to alien offspring, to organisms quite different from itself, it may be belonging to a different class altogether.

Against the fact of the persistence or continuity of hereditary resemblance, expressed in the adage that 'like tends to beget like,' we are accustomed to balance the fact of variation, but we are asked by Dr. Bastian to make room for much more than the most convinced believers in discontinuous variations or mutations ever dreamed of, namely, such facts of heterogenesis as the origin of diatoms by the transformation of the cells of an unrelated alga, or the origin of amoebae and sun animalcules from chlorophyll corpuscles, or the transformation of a rotifer's egg

into ciliated infusorians. What Dr. Bastian has seen and photographed must be interpreted somehow, for he is an honourable and experienced observer; but the reasons why his conclusions fail to win conviction are mainly two: (a) that he does not seem to have sufficiently guarded against the subtle and illusive possibilities of infection, and (b) that our knowledge of the specific architectural organization of even relatively simple creatures like infusorians makes it impossible for us to believe that they can suddenly arise from anything but their own flesh and blood, so to speak.

The phenomena which Dr. Bastian has described and photographed require detailed interpretation, and must not be simply pooh-poohed, but no number of photomicrographs will convince the ordinary prejudiced biologist of the sudden transformation of one definite type of organism into another of entirely different architecture. Perhaps evolutionists have erred in underestimating the protean character of organisms, but we cannot believe in a hop-step-and-leap kind of behaviour which is incongruous with all our experience of Nature's workings. If we accept Bastian's 'heterogenesis' we have to part company not only with the securest results of modern biology, but with our belief in a rational cosmos; and the author's methods are not so convincing that we need hesitate for a moment in our choice. In short, we reject the so-called facts of heterogenesis, because they imply a magical kind of evolution, which is incredible because it is unmeaning.

Mr. Butler Burke's Position.

In his experiments Mr. J. Butler Burke started with sterilized bouillon, i.e. with proteid material, the kind of substance which seems to be essential to all vital processes. Mr. Burke proceeded to act upon the sterilized bouillon by means of a stimulus provocative of molecular rearrangements, namely, with a salt of radium.

'A minute quantity of the salt (bromide or chloride) contained in a small glass tube, one end of which was

drawn out to a fine point, was introduced into an ordinary test-tube containing bouillon. The test-tube was plugged with cotton-wool in the usual way with such experiments, and then sterilized at a temperature of 130° C. for about thirty minutes at a time. On cooling, as soon as the liquid has coagulated, the fine end of the inner tube containing the radium was broken by means of a wire hook in a side tube. The salt was thus allowed to drop on the surface of the gelatin. After twenty-four hours signs of growths were already visible.' The '*radiobes*' had appeared.

The radiobes grow larger, sometimes show a nucleus, stop growing at a certain stage of development, subdivide 'like yeast-cells,' and then are resolved into minute crystalline forms soluble in water. They arise out of invisibility and to invisibility they return. They are not bacteria and they are not crystals, but 'they appear to possess many of the qualities and properties which enable them to be placed in the borderland, so to speak, between crystals and bacteria.'

Their nature remains disappointingly vague. 'These bodies are neither crystalline nor colloid in disguise, though colloids, as aggregates, but something more; and crystals in their constituent parts. The point which distinguishes them from both of these is perhaps the fundamental principle which marks them out at once as possessing the elements of vitality in a primitive and most undeveloped state.'

So undeveloped, indeed, that for our part we fail to discover it at all. The author credits them with 'assimilation,' but we find no proof of this, nor any convincing evidence that their 'segmentation' is not due to surface tension, or that their 'cyclic development' is more than may be seen in some of Bütschli's emulsion-drops, for which no approximation to vitality is claimed. Nor do we believe that little aggregations which are soluble in water can throw much light on the origin of organisms.

Mr. Burke disclaims having witnessed spontaneous

generation. 'We cannot claim that in all our observations there is the slightest evidence of anything which is the same as natural life.' 'The radiobes obviously lie altogether outside the beaten track of living things.' What then is their interest? The author's answer is that the artificial production of these strange little bodies may throw some light on Nature's more successful experimentation long long ago. He may, he thinks, have got on the track of one of Nature's failures, for he holds to the view that the first genuinely living creatures were the happy survivals among other attempts towards vital synthesis. In other words, he thinks that his radiobes help to correct our exaggerated impression of the gulf between the animate and the inanimate. But their approximations to animate behaviour are far to seek.

Mr. Burke alternates in a puzzling way between scientific caution and sanguine statement, telling us with one breath that 'if these artificial forms are alive, it is not life as we know it in Nature,' and with another breath that 'the vital process in that which we can, and that which we cannot, bring about is found to be ultimately the same.' He has a strange facility in not letting his right hand know what his left hand doeth, assuring us now that his radiobes are not alive, and again that they have $n-1$ of the n properties of a living bacillus.

The explanation of Mr. Burke's apparent inconsistency is simply that he has taken upon himself to re-edit the biological dictionary. Thus 'metabolism' for him is not a term for the chemical aspect of distinctively vital processes, but is applicable also to the phenomena of flames and fluorescence and phosphorescence. 'There may be in all matter a certain amount of energy stored up which would entitle it to be regarded as possessing a certain amount of potential life.' And what is life? 'A specialized mode of motion in a dynamically unstable state so that there is a continuous or continual change or flux in its substance between the individual aggregates and their surroundings.' We are in sympathy with every secure

step towards a theoretical unification of natural phenomena, but we must repeat that the life of the simplest organism implies co-ordination, regulation, and a power of effective self-preservative response, and remains at present quite untranslatable in terms of mechanical categories.

Convinced that the proteid bouillon was simply the soil in which the radium was the seed, Mr. Burke advances to a new theory of vitality. He postulates original vital units, alias 'ultimate nuclei,' 'bio-elements,' or 'biogens,' which 'may have existed throughout the universe for an almost indefinite time.' They are probably 'elements possessing many of the chemical properties of carbon and the radioactive properties of the more unstable elements.' By interacting with organic compounds naturally synthesized in Nature's laboratory, the radio- or bio-elements probably gave rise to cellular life as we know it to-day, and they persist as the nuclei within the nuclei of the cells we know. Life-activity is nothing more than a particular kind of instability in the substance that composes the *nth* or ultimate nucleus, which is also the hereditary substance, and 'may be all of us that survives when we have shuffled off this mortal coil.' But all this seems nearer the speculations of the by-gone 'Natur-Philosophie' than sober physiological hypothesis.

What may be.

No chemical synthesis has yet come near the formation of proteids, and proteids form an essential part of the physical basis of life. From this side there is no immediate prospect of manufacturing a living creature.

Some ingenious simulacra of cells have been made, e.g. by Bütschli and Le Duc, which mimic in some measure the structure of a living cell, which also exhibit in certain conditions kinetic phenomena suggestive of the movements of protoplasm. But no one supposes that these drops of emulsion and the like are in any way alive. From this side there is no prospect of manufacturing a living creature.

It is not inconceivable, however, that proteids should be artificially synthesized, and that some happy mingling of proteids should result in viable corpuscles, in miniature organisms able to feed, grow, and reproduce. Let us consider, therefore, how such a discovery—we are not trembling on the threshold of it—would affect our biological and general thinking.

(a) It is quite possible that the steps leading to the hypothetical achievement of making a little living creature might be quite unlike those supposed to have been made in Nature's laboratory when the living first emerged from the not-living. The artificial production of protoplasm might be as unlike the hypothetical natural production of protoplasm as the artificial synthesis of oxalic acid is unlike what takes place in the leaf of the wood-sorrel. It is quite conceivable that the artificial synthesis might be effected under conditions which could not have occurred in Nature, or which we cannot conceive of as occurring in Nature for lack of any known agency to play a part corresponding to that which might be conceivably played by the selective and directive intelligence of the synthetic chemist.

(b) If little living things were artificially made, the achievement would not *directly* help us to interpret the behaviour of living organisms in terms of mechanical categories. The living creature is a synthesis of matter and energy, but no vital activity has as yet been reduced to the common denominator of the motions of particles. At present we cannot restate the behaviour of even a simple animal in terms of the motions of its component organic corpuscles, and the artificial synthesis of a living creature would not directly help us to do so. At present we cannot assert that the laws of the movements of organic corpuscles can be deduced from the laws of motion of not-living corpuscles,¹ and the artificial synthesis of a living creature would not enable us to make this assertion. What simpli-

¹ See Prof. Karl Pearson's *Grammar of Science*, Chapter IX.

fication of descriptive formulae the future has in store for us no one can predict. We may have to modify the conceptual formulae which we use in describing organic behaviour; and we may have to modify the conceptual formulae which we use in describing inorganic sequences; but at present the two sets of formulae remain distinct, and they would remain distinct even if a synthetic chemist made a little living creature to-morrow.

(c) If man discovered a method of artificially producing living creatures, as Loeb has discovered a method of inducing an egg to develop without fertilization, it would render the hypothesis of natural abiogenesis more credible. We should *know*, what many naturalists believe, that what we call not-living has in it the potentiality of giving origin to what we call living. The world of phenomena would become demonstrably more continuous. But the hypothetical discovery would not affect the dignity and value of living creatures or of our own life. We cannot look up to the heavenly bodies and think that there is any stigma attaching to a mechanical origin!

(d) If it came about that we were able to bring materials and energies together in such a way that living creatures of a simple sort resulted, we should not have arrived at an *explanation* of life. We should be able to say, given certain antecedent conditions certain consequences ensue, but we should be unable to answer the question *how* or *why*. We should have a genetic description of an occurrence, but no explanation of it. For that is what science never supplies.

While we do not share the sanguine hope of some that the discovery of the mode of origin of living organisms is near at hand, we do not share the fear of others that such a discovery would prejudicially affect any sane outlook on the world—whether emotional or practical, philosophical or religious. While we are far from sharing the conviction of some naturalists that the mechanical theory of life is steadily gaining ground, we are unable to understand how a simplification of the formulae of scientific

description could prejudice our interpretation of Nature in other than kinematical terms. The scientific outlook is happily but one among many which the experience of ages has shown to be equally valid.

We would conclude with a quotation from Principal Lloyd Morgan's admirable recent essay on 'The Interpretation of Nature' (1905):—

'It is but our familiarity with the genesis of the crystal that affords any justification for the supposition that this is the outcome of a natural evolution while the genesis of protoplasm is not so. Science can tell us in this case no more than in that of protoplasm the *why* of its existence; while even of the *how* of crystalline architecture science can only say that, given such and such conditions, it appears. Of protoplasm we may likewise say that under certain conditions, at present unknown, it appeared. Those who would concentrate the mystery of existence on the pin-point of the genesis of protoplasm do violence alike to philosophy and to religion. Those who would single out from among the multitudinous differentiations of an evolving universe this alone for special interposition would seem to do little honour to the Divinity they profess to serve. Theodore Parker gave expression to a broader and more reverent theology when he said: "The universe, broad and deep and high, is a handful of dust which God enchants. He is the mysterious magic which possesses"—not protoplasm merely, but—"the world."'

J. ARTHUR THOMSON.

RELIGION—PAST AND FUTURE

The Philosophy of Religion. By G. TRUMBULL LADD, LL.D. Two volumes. (Longmans, Green & Co. 1906.)

The Philosophy of Religion. By DR. HARALD HÖFFDING. Translated by B. E. MEYER. (Macmillan & Co. 1906.)

LOCKE, in his *Essay*, wrote with ironical simplicity that 'God has not been so sparing to men to make them barely two-legged creatures and leave it to Aristotle to make them rational.' We may add that He has not made men barely rational and left it to the philosophers or the priests to make them religious. The child sees before he knows that he has eyes; the youth reasons before he can pass an examination in Mill's *Logic*; and the man believes and worships before he studies the philosophy of religion. Indeed, some would say that he is likely neither to worship nor believe afterwards. Religion is rooted in the very nature of man, but by the time it becomes a philosophy, its very life is often extinct. The strength of religion lies in its simplicity, spontaneity, and whole-heartedness; to dissect is to murder it. Goethe, in one of his conversations with Eckermann, said, 'The Christian religion has nothing to do with philosophy. It has a might of its own by which sunken and suffering humanity is from time to time continually reinforced; when this power is granted to it, it is raised above all philosophy and needs no support therefrom.' It was a true, though in some respects mistaken, instinct which, more than a generation ago, resented Max Müller's advocacy of the new-born 'Science of Religion,' and which still makes many devout men to regard with jealousy the idea of a 'philosophy of religion' and all that is implied by it.

But this attitude implies a mistake which may prove a

very serious one. It is simply suicidal for religious men, like Mr. Balfour and Mr. Kidd, to suggest that the foundation of religion is to be found in the irrational part of man's nature. Knowledge need not impair reverence. A keen botanist may lose his appreciation of the delicate beauty and exquisite fragrance of the flower amidst his minute analysis of its parts and his elaborate classification of the characteristics of the plant. But that is not the fault of his science, but of himself. Science rightly employed enhances, not diminishes, the wonder and delight which a superficial examination of the tissues of a leaf or a butterfly's wing awakens in the mind. It is not the use, but the abuse, of knowledge which is to be blamed for the loss of simple, reverent, and profound admiration. The evil which partial knowledge produces a more mature and comprehensive study will remove. It is as short-sighted and unwise, as in these days it is happily becoming impossible, to shut out the fullest intellectual light that can be brought to bear on the subject of religion. The intellect alone will not suffice even for its study, still less for its practice and enjoyment. But any form of religion which shrinks from the searchlight of intellectual and ethical comparison and inquiry will not serve for the twentieth or any succeeding century of human history.

Some of the chief lessons which the devout student of Christianity is called on just now to learn are drawn from what is sometimes called 'Comparative Religion,' and the closely related studies of the 'Science of Religions' and the 'Philosophy of Religion.' The last thirty or forty years have worked little short of a revolution in this department. An immense amount of material hitherto inaccessible has been accumulated, making possible a scientific study of the religions of the world. Further, the process of unifying knowledge has developed very rapidly. We are all cosmopolitans to-day, and as scientific methods have advanced, partial and fragmentary information has been discredited, the interdependence of all branches of human knowledge has been established, and no department of study or of life

can remain long in isolation. The historical method is dominant over a wide field. The origin, growth, progress, and tendency to decay of the several religions of the world has been traced out. The laws of development have been investigated. And, whilst the specially sacred character of the subject needs ever to be borne in mind, and the extreme delicacy, intricacy, and elusive character of the phenomena of religion should never be forgotten, there can be no question that these studies have brought a flood of light to bear upon the highest and most important regions of human thought and experience.

Such 'science' or 'philosophy' should not, in our opinion, be regarded with jealousy or suspicion. Its methods—as in the case of biblical criticism and all sciences that deal directly or indirectly with religion—need to be carefully watched. But its results, so far as they are well founded, should not be accepted grudgingly or on compulsion, but rather welcomed; the conclusions of all such investigation should be garnered and made to minister to the highest ends. Within the last decade or two so much progress has been made in this direction that it would be easy to fill two or three pages of this Review with a mere list of works published in Germany and France, Britain and America. To name a few only which touch upon some aspects of a many-sided subject, we might mention the works of Pfeiderer in Germany, Tiele and Chautepie de la Saussaye in Holland, Réville and D'Alviella in France; Deussen's *History of Philosophy*, with its special section on Eastern religions—a portion of which, on the Upanishads, has recently been translated by Prof. Geden—and Eucken's *Wahrheitsgewalt der Religion*; in America the writings of Fiske and Royce, and in our own country those of John and Edward Caird, Dr. Fairbairn, Jevons' *Introduction to the History of Religion*, Caldecott's *Philosophy of Religion*, and many more; amongst writers on the psychology of religion, Ribot, Starbuck, and W. James; and amongst smaller but useful handbooks on the subject, those of Menzies and Jastrow. A comprehensive

work on 'Comparative Religion' has been announced by L. H. Jordan, of Chicago, of which only the first part, entitled 'Genesis and Growth,' has yet appeared, two other volumes being promised on the principles and progress of the study. It would be premature to judge of Mr. Jordan's capacity to deal with his subject as a whole, but his first volume is distinctly disappointing, though it testifies to industry in the department of bibliography.

It is misleading, however, to mention a few names when so much valuable work has been done by writers, from Max Müller onwards, who have been entirely passed by. Our object is not to describe 'recent advances in the philosophy of religion,' as Dr. James Lindsay did a few years ago in a work which will be found helpful by those who are interested in the subject. Our aim is to try to answer in brief the natural question, What light is to be gained from a study of religions in the past upon the position of religion to-day and its prospects in the future? If science and philosophy have been busy with this great subject, whither do their conclusions lead us, and what practical help may be gained from them? The student is, or should be, most interested in the growing plant, not the dried leaves in the herbarium; in the active frame of the living, moving man, not the dry skeletons of men of extinct races. When the history of religions through long ages has been surveyed, when the 'laws' of growth and development—if there be such—have been determined, it is natural to ask, How much the wiser are we for the cultivation and practice of religion in our own time, and how does the widening of the philosophical outlook affect the Christian who is chiefly anxious about the soundness of religious life to-day and its prospects in the nearer and more distant future?

To help in answering such questions as these, which are obviously amongst the most important that can engage the mind of man—the easiest to ask and the hardest to answer—it may be well briefly to examine two of the latest and best books on the subject, the titles of which will be found at the head of this article.

Dr. Höffding, who is a Professor in the University of Copenhagen, is well known in this country, his chief works on the History and Problems of Philosophy and on Psychology having been translated into English. He is an able thinker and a lucid writer upon subjects that are apt to be cloudy even when treated by competent hands. He is seen to most advantage when he is dealing with psychological problems, and when he is describing in succinct fashion the philosophical opinions of others. In his own constructive work he touches neither the depths nor the heights of philosophy, and in our opinion is least satisfactory of all when dealing with religion. But that we may not begin by prejudicing our readers, let it be said at once that his *Philosophy of Religion* is an exceedingly able book viewed from the standpoint which the author occupies. It is clear, vigorous, informing; original without being eccentric, and fresh and suggestive in its treatment of well-worn themes. Every serious student of the subject should read it, and those who disagree with it most may not be least benefited by its study.

At the same time, the point of view and the aim of the book are such that it is bound from the outset to fail in the chief ends which a philosophy of religion should accomplish. Prof. Höffding views religion as 'a psychical state' in which feeling plays a much greater part than thought and inquiry; it is characterized by enthusiasm and imagination rather than reflection or reasoning. His inquiry into its significance and worth is divided into three parts—epistemological, psychological, and ethical. In other words, he asks how far religion contributes to knowledge and can solve problems insoluble for science; how far it meets the needs of the various parts of man's nature and enriches his spiritual life; and how far it forms a basis for morals and conduct and tends to promote ethical ideals and ends. The central thought of the book is that 'in its innermost essence religion is concerned not with the comprehension, but with the valuation of existence,' and that 'the core of religion consists in the conviction that no value

perishes out of the world.' By value is meant the power of conferring satisfaction, or serving as a means to procure it. It corresponds to what Kant called 'the kingdom of ends'; it is distinguished from scientific inquiry into causes and is concerned with motives of action, the formation of character, the satisfaction of needs, the enjoyment of happiness, and the building up of personalities. The sphere of 'values' is that of beliefs, of sentiments, of ideals; religion is based upon the principle of their conservation, and whilst it may take a thousand forms differing widely from one another, they are all alike in this common feature.

Höfding's whole mode of presenting his subject is determined, and, as we think, vitiated, by this fundamental principle. A philosopher who surveys every known form of religion and frames a definition which will include only the element which is common to them all, will find that his 'greatest common measure' is small and poor indeed. 'The Greenlander's belief in the conservation of value differs widely from the Greek's, the Hindu's from the Christian's. Strictly speaking, such differences do not here concern us, for our task is to discover the element which is common to all religions—to pierce to that which makes us attribute a religion to the Greenlander as well as to the Greek, to the Hindu as well as to the Christian.' This is, in our opinion, precisely the way in which the work should *not* be done. Religion having been stripped to its barest elements, and a definition framed which is equally applicable to the crude superstitions of a Greenlander and the ethical ideals of a Sakya-muni, what wonder that the functions of religion are found to be of the slenderest? Any philosophy based upon this fundamentally erroneous principle is doomed to failure.

Then this element, continually insisted upon as the salient feature of all religions, is described entirely from the human point of view. Religion is a 'psychical state,' and nothing more. The values with which it is concerned are intellectual, emotional, aesthetical, and ethical ideals of

men and nothing else. The distinctively religious element is conspicuous by its absence. Religion, we are told, has nothing to do with explaining the world or life, it can add nothing to our knowledge. Its myths, dogmas, and cults are mere symbols, as unreal as they are evanescent. 'We can neither deduce reality from value nor value from reality.' No one of the ways in which men have sought to find a firm basis for these ideals will stand the test of close investigation. We may conceive of 'a principle from which the origin and preservation of the world, and with this the interconnexion of reality, might spring.' But this thought 'could never be cast into scientific form.'

Hence we are not surprised to find that Dr. Höffding's view really describes religion without God. Clearly according to him the idea of God *manque d'actualité*. He says, 'Great religious personalities have called the object of their highest trust and love "God," and we can comprehend this if we understand by "God" the principle of the conservation of value in reality.' It is a verbal designation of the power which supports and comprehends within itself all values, and by a kind of 'poetical personification' men may regard particular experiences as 'actions of God.' With God disappears personal immortality as an 'egoistic form of religiosity—as though existence might not still have a meaning even if I were *not* immortal! Of the relation of the individual to the great kingdom of values we can form no clear idea; hence we can assign no grounds either for affirmation or negation' of personal immortality. Religion is not the basis of ethics, but vice versa. But religion and ethics do 'ultimately meet in the concept of the Holiest,' which is defined, after Goethe, as 'that which is capable of the innermost appropriation by the individual, and at the same time is able to establish the deepest fellowship between individuals'—thus a purely humanistic and naturalistic view is taken, as will be seen, both of holiness and religion. And, 'when a great religion such as Christianity arises,' the view here defined describes it as nothing more than 'a witness to the fact that love,

inwardness, and purity are vital forces of human nature.' Religion, however, according to Dr. Höffding, has not lost its significance. 'There will always be room for a poetry of life in which the great experiences of human life can find utterance, and of such a poetry humanity is always in need.' These ideal conceptions were found in the ancient religions, and they may be found in the Christian, as in the Greek conception of life. Such poetry 'underlies all myths and legends, all dogmas and symbols, taken at the moment of birth,' and doubtless in the future it will take new forms. With these, however, philosophy does not concern itself; the comparative study of religious forms in the past shows that these are in themselves indifferent. Some are higher than others, but the essence of religion lies in the conservation of values. The principle of conservation may be called God, and the ideas operative in men's strivings to find and produce values appear in the Upanishads as well as in Christianity, in Buddha as well as in Spinoza and Schleiermacher. We may hope, says our philosophic guide, that every ideal possessed of significance will maintain itself and develop in the future, but we do not know that it will.

Höffding's system is one of thorough-going naturalistic Agnosticism. He does not call it so, but prefers the term 'Critical Monism' to describe his position. Our objections to his whole method of procedure are—(1) that he adopts throughout the naturalistic point of view, and from the beginning begs the question as against the supernatural; (2) his definition of religion leaves out the distinctive features of its higher forms; (3) his survey of religions is undertaken not with the view of examining them objectively and learning what they have to teach, but simply that each may be pressed into some kind of relation with *a priori* conceptions of what religion is or ought to be; (4) his agnostic conclusions are reached only by the application of a principle which he makes no attempt to prove—that scientific methods as he understands them are the only modes of acquiring what deserves to be

called knowledge. If Höfding's method of procedure is sound, neither God nor Freedom nor Immortality, as these words have usually been understood, remains for man; religion in the proper sense of the word has likewise disappeared, only human ideals of varying worth remain, and the one spiritual and ethical command they utter is 'Make life, the life thou knowest, as valuable as possible' (p. 381).

A complete contrast to the method and results of Prof. Höfding is presented in the work of Dr. Ladd. One chief reason for considering the two writers together is found in this very contrast, because they represent schools of thought both of which are present and powerful in our midst. The sub-title of Dr. Ladd's book, though needlessly cumbrous, gives a good idea of its scope—'a critical and speculative treatise of man's religious experience and development in the light of modern science and reflective thinking.' These words represent what in our opinion a philosophy of religion ought to be—a study of the past with a view to form a critical estimate of the present and prepare the way for an improved religion of the future. It would then include—(1) a history of religions, selective of necessity, but containing a just and accurate survey of the whole; (2) a comparative study of the lower and higher forms of religion, and the significance of their development; (3) an examination into the possibility and meaning of 'natural theology,' and the claims and validity of any 'special revelations' which certain religions put forward; and (4) an account of the bearing of such inquiries upon the truth of the religion which on various grounds is reckoned as the most vital and potent of all—Christianity.

This is an ambitious programme, and the whole ground could not be covered in a single work. We are convinced, however, that the task will be accomplished in the earlier portion of the twentieth century by the collaboration of many students who from different quarters and points of view will contribute to the building up of a structure that will not perish. Such a philosophy of religion would

differ from similar attempts which have been made as 'apologies' for Christianity, though it will furnish in the end, as we believe, the finest and most stable form of apologetic. The outlook must be wider than that of most apologists; the basis must be broader and more truly scientific, the history of Christianity, its corruptions and degenerations, must be included, and a criticism of current forms of Christianity freely admitted. Such a claim would be naturally resented by all who believe in an infallible Pope, and by those who believe in an infallible Book, in such a way as to preclude free inquiry. But the process we have sketched out has already begun, and such books as Dr. Ladd's help us to see how it may be beneficially carried on.

His definition of a true philosophy of religion is 'a rational and defensible system of conceptions and principles that have been based upon scientifically verifiable facts.' Just as philosophy in general is an attempt to frame a unity of rational opinions concerning the ultimate problems of nature and human life, so the philosophy of religion studies the religious life and development of man by the help of critical and reflective thinking, with the view of establishing, if possible, a religious solution of these ultimate problems which will harmonize man's religious and other experiences in a consistent whole. All the material available must be used, and Dr. Ladd, who has spent forty years in kindred investigations, presents in these volumes results obtained by students of 'comparative religion,' and handles them in an able and thoroughly reasonable fashion. But he does not undertake a history of religions. Of course not; that is not the philosopher's business, but he ought to be master of the history and know how wisely to select material from it, on peril of failing in his whole attempt. 'Great groups of interrelated and essential facts which lie along lines of the historical evolution of humanity' are now available, and by a right use of them the philosopher may show why religion itself is permanent and universal, why so many different religions have arisen, and how they

are related together. He may possibly be able to harmonize the conceptions, principles, and practical aims of humanity, and to point out the ground which the religion of the future must occupy, and the direction in which it must move, if the needs of a whole race are to be met and its highest ideals are to be realized. But this is an End, which in the preliminary stages of the study can only be contemplated as a distant, though eminently desirable, goal.

Dr. Ladd divides his treatise into six parts. The first deals with the historical development of religion, its origin, universality, differentiation, and progress in history. The second deals with the individual man as a religious being, and describes his intellectual and moral needs, his position as rational, free and dependent, the awakening, the significance and the claims of the religious consciousness, together with an account of the bearing of religion upon morality, art, science, and political development. The third part is headed— 'Religion : a Life,' and in it are discussed faith, dogma, cultus, the 'way of salvation,' and the formation of religious communities. The fourth part has to do with God as an object of religious faith, the conception of a Deity, the validity of proofs for His existence, the attributes of God and the problem of evil. The fifth part, on God and the world, contrasts the theistic position with atheism and pantheism, and describes God as Creator, Moral Ruler, and Redeemer. The last section of the book appropriately discusses the immortality of the individual and the future of the race and of religion.

It may be said that this scheme describes not one treatise but twenty treatises thrown into one. It may be replied, however, that whether Dr. Ladd's conclusions commend themselves to the reader or not, he is not superficial, justice is done to the various parts of his wide and complex subject, and yet unity and consistency is imparted to the whole. His book covers nearly twelve hundred closely printed pages, and if such exhaustive discussion be thought too exhausting for these degenerate days, it must be admitted

that it is no small gain to have one guide who can traverse a wide field without losing his way and without permitting his readers to lose sight of the aim which he keeps consistently and steadily before him. It is no part of our object in this article to review either of the books before us in detail, and it would be impossible to follow Dr. Ladd even in an outline of his exposition. But as objection is sure to be made by some of this very unity of aim and purpose, which seems to us to be an excellence rather than a defect, it is only fair to Prof. Ladd to show how he justifies the line he has adopted.

He claims then that religion is universal in man, and that whilst religions are many and varied, religion itself in a very true sense is one. He defines it as 'the belief in visible superhuman powers or Power, conceived after the analogy of the human spirit: on whom man regards himself as dependent, and to whom he is in some sense responsible; together with the feelings and practices which naturally follow from such a belief.' We have a little abbreviated the phraseology actually used, including alternative expressions intended to guard the position of those who do not believe in one Personal God. The various theories which seek to account for the origin of religion are duly discussed, the history of development traced, and an important chapter on 'the standard of values' shows on what principles it is possible to divide religions into higher and lower and what are their mutual relations. Confucianism, Zoroastrianism, Brahmanism, Buddhism, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam are characterized, and then comes an important sentence which we may italicize as containing the key to Dr. Ladd's whole position. '*The possibility of combining all the truths of these various forms of a spiritual monism in a conception of God as perfect Ethical Spirit that shall accord with the conclusions of science and philosophy regarding the Ultimate Reality which is the ground of all human experience is the central problem of the philosophy of religion.*' Whether any existing religion has accomplished this, or can accomplish this, is a question

which always awaits an historical and critical examination.' These words describe exactly what appears to us to be the problem and the proper mode of approaching it. A convinced Christian needs no such inquiry to assure him of the truth of his own religion, but all men are not convinced Christians, and an argument based on scientific data and conducted with philosophical impartiality and detachment must possess a weight and value of its own. And Christianity itself can only be the gainer by the fullest independent inquiry carried out on these lines.

Without attempting to describe the process, we may say that Dr. Ladd claims to have shown that 'in man's highest religious developments, God becomes for him the Personal Absolute who is perfect Ethical Spirit, the Ideal-Real, on whom man's being and life depend, and to whom his rational and free self takes the attitude of complete surrender and an utterly faithful allegiance and service. This is fact, capable of demonstration by the method of history and psychology.' He is not blind to the difficulties of this position, one which Höffding, for example, would certainly not accept. The truth or untruth of theism must be determined quite apart from special 'revelation' by a comparison of theories concerning the Ground and Origin of all things and their value as working hypotheses. The difficulty implied in a 'Personal Absolute' must be dealt with, and the possibility of an 'Infinite Personality' discussed. Dr. Ladd argues very reasonably and dispassionately that 'the Infinite' and 'the Absolute' as often used in metaphysics have no positive meaning, are indeed not words in the proper sense—signs and symbols of mental conceptions. He contends that the highest and best human thought 'reflecting upon the significance for reality of man's total experience, frames the ultimate explanation of it all in terms of infinite and absolute self-conscious and rational Will.' If it be said that this is a philosophy of theism, not a philosophy of religion, the reply is that theism solves, as does no other working hypothesis, the fundamental problems of religion, and that an exposition

of it is one of the early goals to which a philosophy of religion leads.

It is not implied, however, that theism in a narrowly traditional and dogmatic sense of the word is to be laid down as the only conceivable religious hypothesis. The history of the past shows how stereotyped and inadequate all religious conceptions tend to become, if the fresh air of criticism, reflection, and inquiry be not allowed to play freely round them. The time-honoured 'proofs,' for example, of the being of God cannot be stated as once they were. Kant's criticisms settled that, and Darwin's discoveries in the nineteenth century have modified thought at least as much as Kant's analysis of knowledge in the eighteenth. But it does not follow that the quasi-instinctive ideas and feelings which found expression in the Cosmological, Teleological, and Ontological lines of proof as formulated by Aquinas are not as full of meaning and of force as ever, though the reasoning implied in them must be differently expressed. Dr. Ladd deals with the subject at some length in his second volume, and the reconstruction of the familiar arguments which he effects is in harmony with the best thought of the time, both scientific and religious.

Here then is one direction in which a philosophy of religion wisely conceived may be of benefit in relation to those sacred thoughts and feelings which resent the frigid touch of science, one way in which a study of the religion of the past may help to improve the religion of the future. Man's conception of God is widening, and a believer in the true and living God must expect it to widen. The theist has his lessons to learn from a philosophy of religion. He does not profess, as Dr. Ladd repeatedly admits, to prove the existence of one Personal God of infinite holiness and love, as a proposition in Euclid is proved, or as the orbits of the planets have been determined. But he claims to present a stable foundation for faith in data scientifically and philosophically established, quite adequate for the structure erected upon them. And, as time goes on and 'the thoughts of men are widened by the process of the

suns,' the fundamental doctrines of theism can be more clearly and fully stated and their bearings more completely understood, until that which was originally a postulate of thought becomes a fundamentally accepted principle. Room for the exercise of faith will always remain, but in proportion as philosophy harmonizes the conclusions of religious experience with conclusions drawn from other human experiences, faith will be supported and strengthened and its victories rendered more complete.

According to the fundamental principles of theism, true Reality, in Lotze's words, 'is not Matter, and is still less Idea, but is the living Personal Spirit of God and the world of personal spirits which He has created.' It is becoming increasingly understood that 'matter' is not a term which explains anything, and that physical science does not give us knowledge of the underlying realities even of the physical universe. Force, Motion, Matter, Energy are useful words, and they stand for conceptions of great value to scientific men for working purposes, but those who employ them are quite unwarrantably straining their powers when they are represented as ultimate realities which explain visible and tangible existence. 'The world of things,' to quote Lotze again, 'is only a system of appearances which God reveals to a kingdom of spirits by way of stimulating men to act, and as objects of their perception.' Whether 'system of appearances' is the best phrase to employ here may be questioned, but what is intended is to emphasize the fact that the Ultimate Realities are the Infinite Spirit and the personal spirits whom He has created, to know Him, to obey and love Him, to serve Him in the present world-order and afterwards in inconceivably higher orders of existence, growing increasingly like Him, and realizing more and more fully the great ends for which He has brought men into being.

In establishing this fundamental principle of spiritual religion philosophy may be of the highest service. One thing amongst many it can do, and at the present time is doing more successfully than ever before. Dr. Ladd em-

phasizes, as Lotze had done before him, the fact that the satisfaction of the logical reason is not sufficient in a complete philosophy of religion. Höffding, from his very different point of view, agrees with this, and lays even more stress upon the emotional and ethical than upon the intellectual elements in man's nature as constituting 'values' in religion. One weakness in the older methods of 'proving' the existence of God lay in their almost exclusive appeal to the intellect, and even to that lower region of the intellect which may be described as the logical understanding. Such attempted 'proofs' of so high a thesis are felt to be inadequate, and therefore an insistence upon them may do more harm than good. Man is a complex whole, and in attempting to reason concerning the origin and ground of his existence, heart and affections and will must be taken into account as well as intellect. The poet knows this instinctively :

If e'er when faith had fall'n asleep,
I heard a voice 'believe no more'
And heard an ever-breaking shore
That tumbled in the godless deep;

A warmth within the breast would melt
The freezing reason's colder part,
And like a man in wrath the heart
Stood up and answered, 'I have felt.'

But religion is not mere poetry, as Höffding would persuade us. That is a poor philosophy of life which includes the 'freezing reason' and excludes the heart. Heart and reason must be included; and, we would emphatically add, the will also. Happily the philosophy of our day is learning this lesson, and though the 'pragmatism' associated with the name of Prof. James, of Harvard, and espoused by a school of Oxford thinkers may never become dominant in its present form, some of the lessons it is teaching were greatly needed and will, we venture to say, in future not be forgotten.

But here comes in the chief difficulty of the theist—

the problem of evil. If an appeal for a rational belief in a Personal God of holiness and love is made, not only to the reason, but to the heart and will and conscience of man, the existence and prevalence of evil presents a formidable objection. Hence this subject must figure largely in a philosophy of religion, and we are quite persuaded that in this sphere the service which philosophy may render to religion is very great. Not that we expect all difficulties to be removed; it belongs almost to the nature of the case that they cannot be. The 'burthen of the mystery,' the 'heavy and the weary weight of all this unintelligible world,' can only be lightened, it cannot be completely lifted, this side of the great judgement-seat. But a wise and well-weighted philosophy may do much. Martineau's chapters on moral evil and death in his *Study of Religion* are an illustration of the kind of work which may be effected without any appeal to special revelation. Dr. Ladd's treatment of the subject is necessarily brief, but it is weighty and suggestive. His position is that 'religious faith in the Divine Being as perfect Ethical Spirit is a postulate which cannot be placed on independent grounds so as to afford a strictly scientific solution of the problem of evil.' The problem does not admit of any solution, if by that be meant the possibility of explaining by any scientifically established law or general truth the experience of the race with regard to evil. It would be almost a contradiction in terms to attempt to formulate an explanation. But Dr. Ladd undertakes to show that the faith of religion on the basis which a sound philosophy implies will provide 'the best attainable, not to say the perfectly satisfactory, answer to this dark and meaningful problem.'

Into the answer he gives we will not now attempt to enter. And for this among other reasons, that we are convinced that the one only satisfactory answer obtainable cannot be given, until the theist has passed beyond bare theism into Christianity. The philosophy of religion is not directly concerned with special revelations and dogmas. It is its business, however, to deal with the general subject

of miracle, revelation, inspiration, and the credentials which are put forward by any religion as evidences of its claim to contribute to man's knowledge of God elements not supplied by 'natural theology.' Christianity is essentially a religion of redemption. The reason for its existence is found in the prevalence of moral evil and the need of salvation and a divine Saviour. Now we do not imagine that any 'evidences' of the truth of Christianity as a religion—and, as we believe it to be, the final and absolute religion—can ever be forthcoming which will 'explain' it or furnish scientific proof of its verities. The attempt would imply a complete misunderstanding of the position. But we do believe that a philosophy of religion may do much to clear up the whole subject of Christian evidences, put them upon a more satisfactory basis, and show to the world that all the evidence the case admits of can be furnished by Christianity when its claims as a religion are fairly stated and the grounds of them candidly investigated.

Space will not admit of our justifying this statement even in outline. But the following paragraphs may indicate some of the departments in which the philosophy of religion, or a study of comparative religion, may shed fresh light upon the significance of a truly Christian theism and teach fresh lessons to those whose business it is to understand it and commend it to the world.

1. The history of beliefs as brought out by Comparative Religion—the primitive faiths of mankind, the rise, progress, and decay of religious systems, their mutual relations and the testimony they bear to the religious needs and aspirations of men.

2. The psychology of religion in the individual—the fresh light shed upon man's mental, moral, and spiritual constitution, the fuller understanding of the sub-conscious element in human nature, and the functions of religion in relation to the whole.

3. The development of religion in its relation to human thought, especially as understood and expounded during the last half-century, affords a foundation for a theism of

a more complete and comprehensive kind than any hitherto known.

4. The place of Christianity in the hierarchy of religions may be more clearly exhibited, and its significance in the history of religion more completely understood, and thus a firmer basis may be provided for its authority than could be found in the dogmas of any Church or the inspired character of its Scriptures.

5. A fuller investigation is called for into the development of the Christian religion itself—similar to that contained in Harnack's *History of Dogma*, though not necessarily leading to the same conclusions—by means of which the meaning of the word Christianity may be better understood and its permanent essence distinguished from the corruptions which have perverted it, and the excrescences which have grown up round it and become identified with it.

And thus at the very end of an article we are brought to a part of the subject which should have formed an integral part of the whole—the future of religion viewed in the light of its past. It is not the function of philosophy to prophesy. But it ill performs its proper duty if its explanation of history and experience does not point out the right lines of development for time to come. Only thus is it possible to remedy errors, to understand the true principles of growth and progress, and so prepare the way for a brighter and more successful future.

That religion will permanently influence mankind might perhaps be taken for granted. So much, however, is not admitted by considerable sections of thoughtful observers, who have lost their own faith and are anticipating the time when religious aims and activities will make way for science and art and the pursuit of social and political ideals. Those who reason thus probably do not understand what religion really is, and it may well be that they need to see it presented in purer and more attractive form before its claims can be fully recognized. It is certain that religion must be carefully defined before its future can

in any sense be prognosticated. It must not be identified either with semi-superstitious observances, or with an ecclesiastical system, or with dogmatic formulæ supposed to be necessary to a living faith. Rites and ceremonies, Church order and organization, carefully thought out doctrines, are all of them valuable in a religious community, and no wise man will disparage them so long as they are kept in their proper place. But the history of Christendom shows how easily they are thrust into a place that does not belong to them, and—as a true philosophy of religion would teach us—the essential idea of Christianity implies that these elements should be kept in subordination, and that when they are allowed to dominate, the very evils of formalism and ecclesiasticism which Christ so sternly denounced will strangle the best life out of the religion which is called by His name.

The present neglect of religion in nominally Christian countries is only too painfully obvious a feature of our time. In one direction its place is taken by culture of a more or less advanced type, in another by the engrossing claims of business and the still more engrossing attractions of pleasure, whilst by many the earnestness which used to be concentrated upon religious ideals is devoted to philanthropic enterprises and schemes for the reconstruction of society. To some extent these substitutes for religion are altogether unworthy, in other cases the objects are admissible and laudable, and their pursuit is only to be deprecated, in so far as they usurp the place which should be given to the highest thoughts and aims. It is the duty of the Churches to denounce all that Scripture calls 'idols'—the putting of any secondary object of devotion into the shrine which should be reserved for the Most High. But it must sometimes occur to them whether the forms of religion which are assumed to be synonymous with the Divine are really so, and whether the religion, the supreme claims of which they reasonably urge, is adequately represented by the forms of thought

and worship and the order of life which largely characterize the Christianity of to-day.

In these, as in many other directions, the study of religions may shed light on the meaning of religion. The lessons of the past may illuminate the present and help us to prepare for the future. Dr. Ladd urges that the religion of the future will be—(1) *social*, a greater power to transform society; (2) *ethical*, in the best sense, as a more inspiring motive for righteous conduct in all the affairs of life; and (3) *a faith*, in that it will preserve more adequately the sense of loving trust in an infinite and ethically Perfect Spirit—the Father and the Saviour of mankind. We should be disposed to reverse the order in which these features are enumerated, and to alter the emphasis laid upon each. But our readers can draw their own conclusions and shape their own prophecies. That a purified and progressive Christianity is the religion of the future, the absolute religion for mankind, that He who was to come as the true Redeemer of man has already appeared, and that we need not 'look for another,' every true Christian devoutly believes. It is left for the philosophy of religion to prove the truth of this faith by showing how Christianity explains the facts and meets the deepest religious needs of the race, and it remains for Christians themselves to see to it that the religion of the future is more worthy of the name of Christ than the religion of the past, and better fitted to carry on His redeeming work in the midst of a sinning and suffering world.

W. T. DAVISON.

LIBERAL CATHOLICISM

Bibliography of Lord Acton. By DR. W. A. SHAW.
(Royal Historical Society's Publications. 1903.)

The Saint. A Novel. By A. FOGAZZARO. (Hodder & Stoughton. 1906.)

WHEN Dr. Rigg wrote in this REVIEW (October 1904) concerning Lord Acton's letters to Mary Gladstone he wrote under certain self-imposed limitations. Dealing with Acton as a statesman and a man of letters he had no occasion for making more than a passing reference to the ecclesiastical aspect of his life and work—so enigmatic skill, and yet so full of significance: and this is the plea of the present writer for returning to the subject of that somewhat mysterious career.

This air of mystery which surrounds Acton's name is mainly due to the disparity between the seeming paucity of his published work on the one hand, and, on the other, the very high esteem in which he was held by those who knew him best and whose judgement was most worth having. He was the chosen confidant of Mr. Gladstone; the diaries of the late Sir M. E. Grant Duff reveal very clearly the place which he occupied in the highest grades of literary and political society; he succeeded Sir J. R. Seeley as Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge; and yet, notwithstanding his prodigious learning over a wide field, the shelves of libraries may be searched in vain for works bearing his name. Compelled by statute to do so, he published his inaugural lecture on 'The Study of History'; a few other lectures—e.g. his two Bridgnorth lectures on the 'History of Freedom'—have been reprinted, but are so scarce that they are to be

found in neither the Bodleian nor the Rylands Library; and his 'Letters from Rome,' written for the *Chronicle* during the sessions of the Vatican Council, and since reprinted under the pseudonym 'Quirinus,' are little less scarce.

But Mr. Shaw's bibliography reveals an enormous activity on Acton's part, exercised mainly in the field of religion and history, and taking the form of articles and reviews. The majority of these articles were contributed to the *Rambler*, the *Home and Foreign Review*, and the *North British Review*, and they are replete with massive and exact learning, ripe judgement, and a liberality of thought and temper which is almost, if not quite, unique. The pages of this bibliography at once raise the question, Why was not this fruit of his best years' thought republished in a more permanent and accessible form? The explanation probably is to be found in that passion for exactness which always characterized him—as it did his great Cambridge contemporary, Hort—and forbade him to consider any case closed beyond all possibility of further evidence. His 'History of Liberty,' for instance, the materials for which he was collecting throughout his life, was never written because he could never satisfy himself that the last word had been spoken concerning the French Revolution. But although we may regret that so much illuminating work of the highest order is still in so inaccessible a form, comparatively speaking, yet it is there, and it remains a witness to a type of religious thought which does not receive sufficient recognition. It is to that type, as represented in certain of these articles, that attention is here drawn.

From this standpoint Acton's career centres in the period between 1859 and 1871, during which he wrote largely for the reviews above mentioned. In 1859 he succeeded Newman as editor of the *Rambler*, Newman's resignation resulting from the fact that an article of his on the consultation of the laity in matters of doctrine was condemned at Rome. This was ominous for Acton, whose

views were far more pronounced than those of Newman; but he enjoyed the advantage of being a layman. In 1862 the *Rambler* was merged in the *Home and Foreign Review*, with Acton as editor, and as its motto, *Seu vetus est rerum diligo, sive novum*. Two years later that Review made a dignified exit, under circumstances most significant for all concerned, and to which reference will be made later. During 1869 and 1870 he wrote occasionally for the *North British Review*, one notable contribution dealing with the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, and another with the Vatican Council.

Two dominating characteristics stand out clear in everything that Acton has written, and our reflections upon this bibliography may as well be grouped under these two classes. In the first place, he was an uncompromising moralist, and, being such, he was unable to condone much that has been condoned by other historians. Writing to Creighton he says: 'I cannot accept your canon that we are to judge pope and king unlike other men, with an assumption that they did no wrong. . . . The inflexible integrity of the moral code is to me the secret of the dignity, the authority, the utility of history. If we may debase the currency for the sake of genius or success or reputation, we may debase it for the sake of a man's influence, of his religion, of his party, of the good cause which prospers by his credit and suffers by his disgrace.' In one of his letters to Mary Gladstone he denounces Carlyle as, 'excepting Froude, the most detestable of historians,' and goes on to say: 'The doctrine of heroes, the doctrine that will is above law, comes next in atrocity to the doctrine that the flag covers the goods, that the cause covers its agents, which is what Froude lives for.' This uncompromising moral rectitude he carried unflinchingly into all his judgments. His Catholicism was a matter of deep conviction, and in a letter to the *Times* he avowed that 'communion with Rome' was to him 'dearer than life.' But no loyalty to Rome stood in the way of his scourging those who had 'debased the moral currency' for the sake of defending the

Church. When Möhler maintained that no Catholics as such took part in the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, and that the Te Deums of Pope Gregory were only spontaneous outbursts of thanksgiving over the preservation of the king's life, Acton caustically remarked that 'such things will cease to be written when men perceive that truth is the only merit that gives dignity and worth to history.' When he comes to deal with the use made by the Vatican Council of the doctrine of tradition his attack is positively fierce; and the fact that the most learned historian in the world could bring such damning charges against his own Church would, one might think, cause even an ultramontane to pause. 'Books bearing venerable names were forged for the purpose of supplying authorities for opinions that lacked the sanction of antiquity. When detection came and it was found that fraud had been employed in sustaining doctrines bound up with the peculiar interests of Rome and of the religious orders, there was an inducement to depreciate the evidences of antiquity and to silence a voice that bore obnoxious testimony. The notion of tradition underwent a change; it was required to produce what it had not preserved.'

One of the most remarkable products of the 'Council period' was *The Pope and the Council*, written under the pseudonym 'Janus,' by the learned Döllinger and another. Personal friendship and community of purpose and idea with the authors combined to commend this work to Acton, and he dealt with it at considerable length in the pages of the *North British Review*. He clearly expounded the main positions established by the writers; he laid stress upon the 'portentous chain of evidence' by which 'every step in the process (i.e. the evolution of the Papacy) is ascertained and accounted for; and nothing is left obscure where the greater part was till now unknown'; and he concludes with this scathing verdict: 'The passage from the Catholicism of the Fathers to that of the modern Popes was accomplished by wilful falsehood; and the whole structure of traditions, laws, and doctrines that support the

theory of infallibility, and the practical despotism of the Popes, stands on a basis of fraud.' No Protestant has ever said more than that.

Acton's passion for freedom—in the noblest and widest sense—would have inevitably brought him into conflict with ultramontaniam, even if there had been no such frauds to outrage his moral sense. In his Bridgnorth lectures on the 'History of Freedom' he defines liberty as 'the assurance that every man shall be protected in doing what he believes his duty, against the influence of authority and majorities, custom and opinion.' It would be interesting to pursue this conception and apply it to certain matters of practice in modern life—to compulsory vaccination and education, to forced contributions towards denominational education or towards war, and many other contentious subjects. But that lies outside our province. What is significant in the definition is its emphatic appeal to the individual conscience as the ultimate authority in all matters of conduct—a doctrine which inevitably incurs for any one who holds it the relentless hostility of ultramontane Romanism. And for Acton that hostility burst in full force on the occasion of his controversy with Cardinal Wiseman in 1862-4.

The occasion of the controversy was not one of very great magnitude. The *Home and Foreign Review* greatly incensed the Cardinal by criticizing an 'Address to the Pope' which he had himself drafted; and Wiseman utilized his next official utterance as an opportunity of reading a lesson to intellectual Catholics in general, and to Acton in particular. After complaining of the criticism of the address he went on to say that 'this can hardly excite surprise in us who know the antecedents of that journal under another name; the absence for years of all reserve or reverence in its treatment of persons or of things deemed sacred; its grazing ever the very edges of the most perilous abysses of error; and its habitual preferences of un-Catholic to Catholic instincts, tendencies, and motives.' Personally Acton was not desirous to come into conflict

with the authorities of his Church; his disposition was not that of a controversialist, and he had a clear sense of the enormous moral loss so often involved in controversy. But Wiseman had accused him of disloyalty both in the *Home and Foreign Review* and in the antecedent *Rambler*, and had hinted that in doing so he was echoing the views of the Prefect of Propaganda; and thus it was impossible for him to remain silent. His defence is deeply interesting both by reason of the picture which it gives of a man who loved truth beyond all things, and because of its delineation of what may be called 'Liberal Catholicism'—a phase which has been much brought into public notice by Antonio Fogazzaro's romance, *The Saint*, a work more significant as a symptom than powerful as a creation. Acton begins by describing as the object of the Review, 'to instruct, not disturb, our readers; to take down the barriers which shut out our Protestant countrymen from the Church, not to raise up divisions within her pale; to confirm and deepen, not to weaken, alter, or circumscribe the faith of Catholics.' He readily acknowledges that religious journalism stands on a far lower level than the priesthood as an educating force, but nevertheless he claims that it has a great mission as an auxiliary to the spiritual agents of the Church. Writing in October 1862 on Wiseman's policy he expresses in noble words his deep convictions concerning the Church and its attitude to knowledge: 'The ethical and intellectual offices of the Church are not hers exclusively or peculiarly. They were discharged, however imperfectly, before she was founded; and they are discharged still, independently of her, by two other authorities, science and society. The Church cannot perform all these functions by herself; nor consequently can she absorb their direction. The political and intellectual orders remained permanently distinct from the spiritual. They follow their own ends, they obey their own laws, and in doing so they support the cause of religion by the discovery of truth and the upholding of right. They render this service by fulfilling their own ends independ-

ently and unrestrictedly, not by surrendering them for the sake of spiritual interests. Whatever diverts government and science from their own spheres or leads religion to usurp their domains, confounds distinct authorities, and imperils not only political right and scientific truth, but also the cause of faith and morals. A government that for the interests of religion disregards political right, and a science that for the sake of protecting faith wavers and dissembles in the pursuit of knowledge, are instruments at least as well adapted to serve the cause of falsehood as to combat it, and never can be used in furtherance of the truth without that treachery to principle which is a sacrifice too costly to be made for the service of any interest whatever.' He unhesitatingly declares that 'a discovery may be made in science which will shake the faith of thousands; yet religion cannot refute it, or object to it . . . a fact may be true or a law may be just, and yet it may under certain conditions involve some spiritual loss.' And because the Church has been so prone to argue 'Here is a discovery which will disturb faith and overthrow tradition, let it be buried and all traces swept away,' it has suffered incalculable harm both in public estimation and in moral power. 'In no case,' cries Acton, 'can the Church guard her interests at the cost of denying the truth'; and with the same trenchant invective with which he had attacked the conception of Papal Infallibility—soon to be proclaimed a dogma—he proceeds to inveigh against the *Index Expurgatorius*, on the ground that it embodies a deliberate attempt 'to keep the knowledge of ecclesiastical history from the faithful and to give currency to a fabulous and fictitious picture of the progress and action of the Church.'

In face of such opinions as these Wiseman may well have felt that the Review in question had a 'preference for un-Catholic instincts'; characteristically, however, he attempts no disproof of the allegations but bends all his efforts to the suppression of their advocate. There were three alternatives open to Acton. He might acquiesce and conform, thereby surrendering the very end for which the

Review was founded; or he might defy the ecclesiastical authorities, even to the point of incurring excommunication; or he might discontinue the Review altogether. Loyalty to the truth forbade the first, loyalty to the Church forbade the second, and there only remained the third, and in April 1864 he discontinued the Review in order that he might 'combine the obedience which is due to legitimate ecclesiastical authority with an equally conscientious maintenance of the rightful and necessary liberty of thought'; adding that 'the obligation to refrain from wounding the peace of the Church is neither more nor less than that of professing nothing beside or against convictions.' In less than twelve months Wiseman was dead, and a man of smaller calibre had succeeded to his office; and there was no definite attempt on the part of the authorities to deal further with this dangerous critic within their own borders.

At first it may awaken surprise that Acton escaped the penalties of excommunication, seeing that the decade of his greatest literary activity was coincident with that of Pio Nono's various aggressions. Probably, as suggested above, Acton only owed his immunity to the fact of his being a layman. In 1863 his friend Döllinger urged the Congress of Munich to 'replace the mediaeval analytical method by the principle of historical development and to encounter scientific error with scientific weapons.' The Pope replied by Brief to the Archbishop of Munich, reminding him that opinions of Catholic writers were subject to the authority of the Roman congregations, and Döllinger was excommunicated. But Döllinger said nothing that Acton was not saying in almost every issue of the *Home and Foreign Review*, while it lasted, and, later, from time to time in the *North British Review*. Possibly Manning's instinct told him that he would inevitably be made to look ridiculous if, in matters where learning was involved, he allowed himself to be drawn into controversy with such a giant. He would dearly have loved to assert himself and the Church by impeaching one who stood so high; for purposes of advertisement the stroke

would have been an impressive one, and Manning's successor, Vaughan, would probably have been unable to resist the opportunity. But Manning's prudence, born of cowardice, made him shrink from a situation where the consequences of failure would have been so serious. Bishop Browne, of Shrewsbury, was sent to interview Acton, and prudently testified to his orthodoxy; and so it was that he was not called upon to follow his friend into the banishment that has been the fate of so many who have preferred the personal guidance of the Holy Spirit to the ecclesiastical tyranny of the Roman Bishop.

This controversy opens up far wider issues than those merely of the prudence of a cardinal or the personal fate of an individual Catholic. Viewed together with the Liberal movement in French Catholicism, with the permission given last year to Catholics in Rome to participate in the elections—contrary to the whole policy of the Curia since 1870—and with the *furor* awakened by Fogazzaro's romance, now placed on the Index, Acton's pronounced manifestoes of Liberal Catholicism cease to be an element of personal biography alone, and become an integral part of a significant movement. In these various directions is seen the fruit of the old Catholic movement. For the moment it seemed as though ultramontaniam had won a complete triumph, and extinguished all liberty of thought within the Church; but the triumph was no more final than when English Lollardism was met by the statute *De heretico comburendo*. Like a river which for miles runs underground and then reappears stronger and fuller than before, so was this Liberalism driven beneath the surface, only to burst forth again later in greater volume and power. It would be very easy to discount Benedetto, of *The Saint*, and Pierre Froment, of Zola's *Rome*—in many respects a far more powerful work than that of the Italian novelist—as purely imaginary pictures, possessing no historical value, though eminently calculated to appeal to our intellectual and moral sympathies. But they have their share, and no small one either, in the struggle for liberty and enlighten-

ment. The works of men such as Acton and Döllinger give actuality to the romances of the novelists, while the novelists give to the findings of the highest scholarship a constituency of eager readers.

The chances of the new movement are extremely difficult to estimate. The past history of the Roman Church is of a nature to forbid enthusiastic optimism concerning any reforming influence from within; and yet there are favouring circumstances in the life and thought of to-day which did not operate on behalf of earlier champions of reform. Readers of Principal Workman's volumes will be familiar with the many abortive attempts at the 'Reformation of the Church in its Head and Members'; and they will be prepared to admit that it was the greed of gold and dominion, so inveterate throughout the Papal Court, that made such attempts abortive. It was the moral scandals associated with the Papacy which were so potent for the awakening of doubts as its divine right, in the minds even of those who had no predisposition towards doctrinal reform. And it is the spectacle of a hierarchy, fearing the light and repressing the light-bringers, which is awakening the same doubts in our own time, among those naturally predisposed to give allegiance. Gerson was suspected of heresy because he favoured the relegation of the Pope to the position of a constitutional instead of an absolute monarch, asserting that it was 'possible to be saved without the Pope'; but yet he had a share in the martyrdom of Hus. Acton would have gone much further than Gerson in the direction of pruning the growths of Papal power and pretension; but yet 'communion with Rome' was to him 'dearer than life.' Thus, in fifteenth and in nineteenth century alike we feel the yearning after a purified Catholicism morally irreproachable and intellectually honest.

But both were doomed to disappointment. As the Councils of Pisa and Constance extinguished all the hopes of reform from within—and so prepared directly for semi-destruction from without—so did the Vatican Council,

following as it did upon the Syllabus, make it abundantly clear that Liberalism had nothing to hope for from the hierarchy, and that whatever the champions of reform achieved for the Church would be won in the teeth of powerful and unscrupulous vested interests. From that quarter no relief would come, to make it easier for men to remain true to their Church without being blind to the facts of existence or disloyal to moral obligations. What Acton had hoped from the Council may be inferred from the article written for the *North British Review* in October 1870. He writes:

'The Council of Trent impressed on the Church the stamp of an intolerant age and perpetuated by its decrees the spirit of an austere immorality. The ideas embodied in the Roman Inquisition became characteristic of a system which obeyed expediency by submitting to indefinite modification, but underwent no change of principle. Three centuries have so changed the world that the maxims with which the Church resisted the Reformation have become her weakness and her reproach, and that which arrested her decline now arrests her progress. To break effectually with that tradition and eradicate its influence nothing less is required than an authority equal to that by which it was imposed. The Vatican Council was the first sufficient occasion which Catholicism has enjoyed to reform, remodel, and adapt the work of Trent. This idea was present among the motives which caused it to be summoned. It was apparent that two systems which cannot be reconciled were about to contend at the Council; but the extent and force of the reforming spirit were unknown.'

How entirely all hopes were falsified is now a matter of history. 'To proclaim the Pope infallible was the compendious security' adopted by the threatened interests 'against hostile states and Churches, against human liberty and authority, against disintegrating tolerance and rationalizing science, against error and sin.' With what utter disregard of truth the ultramontane party invented evidence

on behalf of their dogma is shown by the passage already quoted from the same article; and one can easily understand how bitter a humiliation it must have been to Acton to see religion thus dragged in the mire by those who should have been its chief defenders—and who probably thought they were defending it.

Whatever estimate may be formed as to the present strength of the reforming movement in the Church, there is no doubt that the most potent intellectual influences of the age are working for it, although unwittingly for the most part. The sphere of authority in matters of religion is contracting, and those Churches which rely most upon the authority of a hierarchy are destined to suffer more from the spirit of the age than those who appeal frankly and fearlessly to freedom of judgement and conviction. If Rome is to hold her own it must rely less upon the apparatus of Papalism to enforce obedience and more upon spiritual ideals to win affection. England, at any rate, will never be won to a faith that has to lean upon Papal Infallibility and the Index for support. Further, there is a growing repugnance to the identification of the Church with the clergy. 'The best religious minds in all nations,' writes a Roman Catholic correspondent in the *Guardian* recently, 'refuse to regard clericalism as synonymous with religion, or clerical interests as interchangeable with religious.' Clericalism is ever in danger of so completely identifying the maintenance of its own prerogatives with the existence of Christ's gospel upon earth that no qualms of conscience are felt concerning any policy which helps to attain that end; and out of that mistaken identification has grown the mischievous exaltation of the Papacy. The new spirit in Catholicism will have none of it, and it does not scruple to call such policy by its right name. 'A man is not honest,' writes Acton, 'who accepts all the Papal decisions in questions of morality, for they have often been distinctly immoral; or who approves the conduct of the Popes in engrossing power, for it was stained by perfidy and falsehood; or who is ready to alter his convictions at their

command, for his conscience is guided by no principle. Such men in reality believe that fair means will not avail to save the Church of Rome. Formerly in time of great extremity they betook themselves to persecution; for the same purpose and with the same motives they still practise deceit and justify it with the name of religion.' And the revolt will be strong in proportion to the depth of conviction with which they hold the essentials of their faith; those to whom 'communion with Rome is dearer than life' will not lightly allow that communion to be imperilled by the immoral machinations of the Papal Court.

And in this campaign every writer like Acton, who dares to speak his thoughts without fear or favour from within the communion, counts for more than any score of Protestant assailants; and one of the most hopeful features in the outlook is the increasing number of those who refuse to recognize the dictum of Pius IX that opinions of Catholic writers are subject to the authority of the Roman congregations. The *Guardian* correspondent referred to above commences an article on 'The Change in France' by saying, 'With the accession of Pius X we left behind us the policy of resentment and retaliation towards every one who appeared to harm or criticize the Church to which long years had accustomed us.' Perfect candour and freedom of speech upon ecclesiastical and religious questions was what Acton fought for against Wiseman; and it is safe to say that for every one who would have dared to take up such a position in Wiseman's time there would be hundreds to-day. It is significant of much, for instance, that Father Taunton, in his *History of the Jesuits in England*, complains of Foley's eight volumes of *Records* as being marked by unfair and deceptive handling of documents. 'I am bound to remark,' he says, 'that I have found him, at a critical point, quietly leaving out, without any signs of omission, an essential part of a document which was adverse to his case.' Such candour is as far from the tradition-mongering of the Papal Curia as the east is from the west.

Whether this generation will see any modification of the old régime is more than doubtful. Just as at the Council of Constance every one was in favour of reform, provided that it was reform of his neighbour's establishment and not his own, so a marvellous work of grace will have to take place in the hearts of cardinals before the reformation of the Curia can be imagined. But it is otherwise with Romanists, the great body of believers who form the Church as distinct from the hierarchy. It is not improbable that a great injustice is constantly done by visiting the sins of the Papal Curia upon the members of the Church, and by the assumption that they are willing accessories and abettors in a policy of conscious fraud. Learned and pungent criticisms such as those of Acton, and popular romances like that of Fogazzaro, do double service by awakening thought within the Roman Church itself and by helping towards a more generous estimate of the members of that great communion. We are not surprised to learn from Acton that 'amongst the Catholics there are numbers who earnestly condemn the despotism of the Popes, their asserted superiority to all human law, civil and ecclesiastical, the exclusiveness with which they profess themselves sole interpreters of the divine law, their systematic warfare against freedom of conscience, of science, of speech.' Of necessity 'these men find the arms of their adversaries effectually strengthened by the Papacy, and their own efforts confounded by reproaches which it justifies.' And yet there follows the humiliating admission that 'they seldom acknowledge that the causes of their weakness are in Rome; sooner or later they almost always renounce or silence their convictions.'

The future of Roman Catholicism is bound up with the admission there made so frankly. Is that the last word? In the years to come will conviction never succeed in asserting itself against authority; will the mediaeval discipline of the Curia always prove too strong for the critical and independent spirit of the age? The answer must be that the result will vary according to national characteristics.

We hear much to-day concerning the invasion of England by foreign orders; but we shall do well to remember that the future of Romanism in England depends not upon foreign importations, but upon the type of native Romanism. Will it be mediaeval and reactionary, or will it be Liberal, and—like that of Acton—freed from the discredit and anomalies involved in the Inquisition, the Index, the Infallibility and Temporal Power of the Popes? Not one iota of abatement of claim is to be expected from the Curia. *Semper eadem* is its proud boast, and it is necessary to its very existence. Its claims and its history are such that it dare not make any concessions to Liberalism. But how long, in an age of acute criticism and restless inquiry, will it succeed—among Anglo-Saxon peoples at any rate—in coercing the minds of its subjects by its ‘Thus far and no further’? For the present writer the bogey of a dominating, persecuting ultramontanism within our borders has no terrors, simply because it is so absolutely unthinkable. The militant unbeliever and the fervent evangelical would join forces against ultramontane tyranny; and many a dissension within our English Christianity would be healed in face of such a foe. But what if English Romanism were purged of its mediaeval accretions, its monstrosities and its dishonesties, and stood forth claiming—as Acton would have had it claim—to be taken on its merits as a divine institution, embodying a true and adequate presentation of the mysteries of faith and conduct? The Rome of Acton would be less accessible to attack than that of Wiseman, by reason of the removal of the enormities which previously disgraced it; and perhaps on that very ground it might be more dangerous to evangelical truth. But from such a peril we shall probably be saved for many years yet by the irreconcilable attitude of the Curia itself.

W. FIDDIAN MOULTON.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN: MASTER OF MEN

Lincoln: Master of Men. A Study in Character. By
ALONZO ROTHSCHILD. With Portraits. (London :
Archibald Constable & Co., Ltd.)

EVERY new book on Lincoln only brings out more clearly the essential grandeur of the man. Mr. Rothschild's clear and appreciative study deals with his commanding qualities in general, and particularly with his intellectual and moral authority over the ablest of the public leaders who stood by his side and bore with him the burden of affairs in the State during the fateful period of the fratricidal strife—the bloodiest war in history—between the Northern and Southern provinces of the great Commonwealth of the West. Mr. Rothschild shows how statesmen of such diverse temperament, gifts, and culture as Stephen A. Douglas, William Henry Seward, Salmon A. Chase, Edwin M. Stanton, and the Blairs, adventurous spirits like John C. Frémont, and obstinate generals such as George B. McClellan, all of them patriots of strong personal convictions, of iron sinew, bent, as a stiff bow is bent under the hand of a mighty archer, before the wisdom, the courage, the selflessness of the unpretentious man of genius who presided over the destinies of his country from 1861 till he was struck down in April 1865 by the assassin.

The narrative of Lincoln's youthful years is fascinating; and by American firesides is told with growing pride the story of his training in the school of poverty, in the field of rough labour; of his self-education; of the fore-gleams of a larger future that early visited him; of the ambitions of his developing manhood, and of the sturdy cow-boy and rail-splitter, who could drive the axe more deeply into the log than any man in the forest-settlement; of

the young voyager on the spacious rivers of the West and South who awakes to understand the curse of slavery as he catches glimpses of men in bondage in the busy marts of the cotton States; of the clerk in the village store who rose to supremacy of influence among his rural neighbours in Sangamon county by sheer force of intellect and character; of the books that helped to shape him—the Bible, the *Pilgrim's Progress*, and *Aesop's Fables*. All this is already a household treasure, the inspiring value of which cannot easily be estimated.

The shining moral qualities, the greatness of heart, the chivalry that distinguished him, to which we shall again refer, were early manifested. For invincible good nature, for inborn honourableness and kindness, for capacity to measure the actual altitude of men, for the lighter gifts of wit and humour and irony, he was well known before he was sent to the Legislature of the State. He was general arbitrator and referee among his associates. He possessed unusual power in debate; he was, in fact, a masterful foeman, a campaigner not thought unworthy of the steel of the most doughty of the political champions of the West, with whom he broke many a lance—and the victory was frequently with the gaunt, long-armed ex-back-woodsman.

Lincoln was no sooner elected to the State Assembly as member for New Salem, in 1834, than his talent for leadership began to be recognized. His political honesty, his devotion to his official duties, his fearlessness, his sane optimism, his insight into human nature, his power to win and command the fealty of his colleagues, his faultless common-sense, placed him at the head of the group of like-minded patriots. Though not by nature aggressive, he never shrank from conflict when duty imposed it. His method of attack was singularly effective; his force of onslaught was tremendous; his use of repartee and ridicule often created uproarious laughter, disconcerting the foe; his logic, simple as the alphabet, relentless as death, and his incisive style of speech, carried conviction; while

his freedom from any suspicion of malice and his fine generosity towards a foiled opponent contributed to his ascendancy.

Lincoln's attitude towards slavery was clearly defined from the beginning of his public career. From the day (March 3, 1835) when a brave protest, signed by himself and another, in reference to domestic slavery was read to the Illinois Legislature and ordered to be entered on the journals of the House, he never turned back. The protest declared that 'they believe the institution of slavery is founded on both injustice and bad policy'; and it was called forth by certain resolutions favouring slavery which had passed both branches of the General Assembly. His friends had declined to sign the protest, and, intimidated by the violent pro-slavery temper of the State, thought him almost mad; and certainly only a man of Luther-like principles would have dared to take the stand he took.

Retiring from the State Assembly in 1840, the eighteen years following (with a brief interval, during which he was a member of Congress) were spent in attending to his professional duties as a lawyer and advocate at Springfield. These were years of growth. His intellectual powers expanded; his influence gradually took a wider sweep. He became successively Secretary of State for Illinois, and Judge of the Supreme Court of the State. His forensic ability, his shrewdness, and, above all, his brightness of disposition made him a notable figure. He was a centre of light and good-humour in the Courts. He hated duplicity, was the soul of honour, and would not touch a case the morality of which was questionable. He remained poor, though his clients were many. Gold had little attraction for him in comparison with the ideals which he cherished. The master of men was busy mastering himself.

Among the rivals with whom Lincoln crossed swords during these years was Stephen A. Douglas, whose name we have mentioned. Douglas, like Lincoln, was a self-made man. He was possessed of brilliant gifts, and was 'a

very Rupert in debate.' Small of stature, he was called 'the little giant.' Into the causes which divided these able men we cannot here enter; but in temperament and character they were wholly unlike, and they belonged to contending camps. As early as 1834 they occupied opposite platforms on local questions. In 1858, Lincoln, after long years of comparative retirement, felt impelled, on account of an attempt to repeal the 'Missouri compromise'—a slavery-restricting ordinance—to re-enter the political arena, and to offer himself, at the urgent request of his party, as a candidate for the vacancy in the United States Senate, created by the expiration of Douglas's term of office. Douglas, seeking re-election, again became his rival—and he was no despicable foe. A man of 'exhaustless physical vigour, with a face indicating intellectual strength, he was as bold as he was wily, arraying an inordinate ambition in the garb of pure patriotism. To an expert knowledge of political history he added an equal skill in political management. Men and principles were but cards in his hand in the game which he played for success. 'He was the ablest as well as the most cherished of the Democratic leaders, a man of magnetic force, who knew how to captivate at once the heads and hearts of the young men. They admired his sagacity, dash, fearlessness, and indomitable will. They loved him for his sunny temperament, for his generosity and good fellowship. And they fell under the spell of his eloquence. As an orator he had no equal in the country. He was master in all the stratagems of controversy—flattery, cajolery, and misrepresentation. If not equal in attack to Lincoln, he was perhaps his superior in impromptu reply, and could scathe an adversary with passionate invective. 'Judge Douglas,' Lincoln once said, 'is playing the cuttle-fish, that has no way of defending itself when pursued except by throwing out a black fluid, which makes the water so dark the enemy cannot see it, and thus it escapes.' He employed an apparently unanswerable logic in the service of a bewildering sophistry. His voice could be soft and wheedling

in its dulcet tones, or could crash like thunder. Arrogance had grown with influence, and he indulged the dream that he was the coming President.

The rise of Douglas had been rapid. From the workshop of the cabinet-maker he had climbed to the lawyer's desk, and thence successively to the Bench of the Illinois Supreme Court, to Congress, and to the United States Senate. He was now a figure of national renown. During the same period Lincoln's star, though by no means on the decline, had paled before the brightness of this more prominent orb. From the campaign for the Senate, referred to above, Lincoln withdrew in favour of Trumbull, an ardent abolitionist, who won the seat—and won chiefly through the advocacy of Lincoln, whose oratory had a charm for the people which that of Douglas, with all its brilliance, had not. Frank, clear in argument, unadorned save with homely metaphor, weighted, yet sustained, by the burden of conviction and of a just cause, grave even when gayest, infused with the spirit of humour which the addresses of Douglas lacked, Lincoln's speeches exposed the subtleties of his opponent, discomfited him in the field, and led to his utter rout. Though Lincoln did not capture the position for himself, yet he gained a virtual victory. He lost neither courage nor hope. That the cause had triumphed was good reason for gratitude. As to himself, he said in his quaint way to a friend that he 'felt like a boy that had stumped his toe—it hurt too bad to laugh, and he was too big to cry.'

Douglas was grievously disappointed—and no wonder. All that wealth and display could bring to his aid was freely lavished. His passage from town to town was a grand procession. Cannon saluted him; triumphal arches rose in the streets; bands of music played their loudest; fireworks illumined the November nights; carriages and railway saloons were placed at his disposal; there were 'receptions' everywhere. His own contribution to the cost of all this show was 80,000 dollars. Lincoln, as became a poor man who hated ostentation and rated it at its true value, did not disdain to travel in a farm-wagon when it served his

purpose. The railway companies showed him no favour. While his rival was whirled along by special express, he was reduced to the necessity of going as freight in lumbering luggage-trucks. But the pageantry of Douglas's campaign did not prove to be that of a conqueror's entry with the spoils of war. It was of little avail. For the eyes of the people were opening to see the moral grandeur of the questions at issue. Later, Douglas was again returned to the Senate.

In May 1860 the Republican National Convention met at Chicago. Passing over tried and recognized leaders who sought the prize, it nominated Abraham Lincoln for the Presidency of the United States. We cannot enter into the reasons for this choice, but they were manifold. 'A nation had been watching the men and weighing their merits'; and, guided by Heaven, selected the unpolished man of the West, known to be honest, free from the arts and airs of the professional politician—the strong, patient man fitted by God to steer the ship of State in the fearful storm that was soon to break over the land. Lincoln's sturdy patriotism, stained by no breath of unworthy personal ambition, his deliberate choice of the side of freedom at all costs, his magnificent advocacy of the equal rights of men, his quiet, resistless force, the meekness that inherits the earth, had brought him, despite the efforts of the pro-slavery party to prevent it, all unexpectedly to the front, with Douglas once more as his rival.

After the regular preliminary steps, he was duly elected President. He stood forth, not for the last time, as 'master of men.' And now let us quote Mr. Rothschild: 'When the President-elect, on inauguration day, stepped out on the platform that had been erected in front of the eastern portico of the capital, he found the senior senator from Illinois among the distinguished men who sat awaiting him. Mr. Lincoln, as if to add to the novelty of his situation, was dressed in fine clothes, of which, for the moment, he appeared to be all too conscious. In one hand he held a new silk hat; in the other a gold-headed cane.

What to do with them perplexed him. After some hesitation, he put the cane into a corner; but he could find no place for the hat, which he evidently was unwilling to lay on the rough board floor. As he stood there in embarrassment, with the waiting multitude looking up curiously at him, his old rival came to his rescue. Taking the precious hat from the owner's hand, Douglas held it, while Lincoln took the oath of office and delivered his inaugural address. The incident, simple in itself, forms a dramatic climax to the long-life competition between them. As Lincoln stands forth crowned with the highest honours to which their conflicting ambitions had aspired, Douglas, in the background, humbly holds the victor's hat.'

Instead of now following Mr. Rothschild in his further illustrations of Lincoln's masterliness—his power to conquer or to win and dominate the able men with whom, as his lieutenants, he surrounded himself in his high office—men brilliant as Seward, learned as Chase, headstrong, fiery, human as Stanton, brave, errant as Frémont, richly endowed, slow-footed, ambitious as McClellan, none of whom understood the greatness of their chief at the beginning, but all of whom bowed before his genius, his superb moral force, his almost unerring judgement, his gracious character, as the years passed—instead of this, let us briefly study the man in varying aspects.

It may be said of Lincoln, as it has been of Cromwell, whom in many ways he resembled, that Nature formed him to be a great man. Built into the structure of his being was the capacity for greatness which no education can confer, no effort procure. He owed nothing to schoolmasters. Experience was the ungentle but effectual tutor of his youth, as of all his years; and graduating under its stern rule he learnt 'self-knowledge, self-reverence, and self-control.'

'Not from the studious cloister's pale'
he came, nor was he

'Deep-versed in books, and shallow in himself.'
Like Milton, 'he cultivated not letters'—he had no chance

of doing so—'but himself, and sought to enter into possession of his own mental kingdom, not that he might reign there, but that he might royally use its resources in building up a work which should bring honour to his country.' That he was legitimately and nobly—never sordidly—ambitious few would doubt. He coveted the renown of service, not for the sake of the renown, but because he loved his fellow men, and because of the opportunities which renown would afford of aiding them to reach forward after the ideals which fired this man of passionate attachment to liberty, but to whose nobility his brothers were only dimly awake. For mere vogue he cared nothing, but he cared for the common folk, and especially for the enslaved millions, who were not to him

'A herd confused,
A miscellaneous rabble who extol
Things vulgar.'

They were his kindred in bonds; and that he might prepare himself to take a worthy part in the endeavour to bring to them the life of enfranchised men, he did not shrink from severe self-discipline. He early realized that 'excellence dwells among rocks hardly accessible, and a man must almost wear out his heart before he can reach her'; and he did not decline the call to climb, he eagerly embraced it when it came to him in his homely surroundings.

Perhaps, without much reason, we are prone to credit rough, rural communities with possessing little appreciation of worth, with a certain stolidity and stupidity that seldom discovers the gift of greatness inhering in some individual growing up in its midst. But there is an instinct at work in natural life, often, indeed, temporarily blind and liable to be warped by prejudice, not nicely discriminating, but correct in its main judgement of character and capacity, and hardly ever failing to find men and to find them out. And it is to the praise of the men of Illinois that they saw in the uncomely figure of Abraham Lincoln a mighty statesman in the making, and freely prophesied concerning his future.

Lincoln's intellectual and moral greatness is now well established. His printed addresses and dispatches, the records of cabinet meetings, and his letters, reveal one who was wise in counsel, finely balanced, prescient, of intuitive insight, versatile, of masculine grasp of affairs. His was the flash of genius that illumines the darkest hours and shows what ought to be done. In the management of men, his equals in many ways, he was as delicately tactful as he was inexorably firm when occasion demanded. He never created antagonists by imposing his views, but won men by his reasonableness and the cogency of his arguments. He could hold strong-willed ministers, like Chase, in apparently careless leash despite their fretting and straining, and could quietly release them (a much more difficult task) when insubordination rendered them impracticable. In acute national crises, in times of overwhelming anxiety, when the fate of thousands of lives and the very continuance of the Union depended on his decisions, when a mistake might mean the irretrievable wrecking of the hopes, the aims, the aspirations which had sustained the North in the unparalleled struggle, when there was little light from the divided counsels of his cabinet, when he was compelled, as chief of the State, to assume at last the entire burden of responsibility, his judgement was seldom at fault. Often spending sleepless nights of prayer and brooding thought, often standing almost alone in his high place of trust, he had attained to a rare degree of modest self-reliance. Conscious of perfect sincerity, having no selfish or sinister ends, and believing in the guidance of God, he felt that in the final issue his 'judgement must guide, his sole will determine, his own lips utter the word that should secure or lose the most precious heritage of humanity, the last hope of free men on the earth.' When thick gloom settled down on the North after the defeat at Bull's Run, and on many 'a brow sat sullen, scorching, black despair,' Lincoln kept his head. 'A calm, resolute patience was his most constant mood.' He smiled at craven prophets of evil, and began at once to display that controlling genius in adminis-

tration which was to achieve ultimate success, despite factious opposition, official jealousy, and military incompetence. And the better part of the people, and the most able of his subordinates came, before the struggle closed, to repose in him absolute confidence. They felt, as Milton had felt in regard to Cromwell: 'The sum-total of our affairs has come back on you and hangs on you alone. We all yield to your insuperable worth. In human society there is nothing more pleasing to God, more agreeable to reason, nothing fairer and more useful in the State, than that the most worthy should bear rule.'

Lincoln's self-control, his unwavering fidelity to his principles, his calm in times of panic, reacted powerfully on the nation, creating in the most critical hour triumphant confidence. We find Lowell writing: 'I feel as blue as a blue forget-me-not, and don't see how we can be saved but by miracle, and miracles are not wrought for folks without heads.' The reference is to McClellan's failure. A few months later he says: 'If Lincoln is re-chosen (to be President) I think the war will soon be over.'

The President was the one man above all others who saw clearly that the Union must be upheld at any cost, even if it were 'the uttermost portion of their substance, and the last drop of their blood'; but never at the cost of the maintenance of slavery. Slavery would for ever gnaw at the vitals of the Commonwealth. There could be no peace, no brotherhood, no spiritual fellowship as long as the blight of an unholy bondage lay heavy on the land. If the goal could only be reached through immitigable horrors of fraternal strife, the way must be trodden to the bitter end. In his estimation, the difference of ideal between the North and the South was a fathomless gulf which no claims of national material prosperity or glory could be permitted to bridge. Compromise was impossible. Nothing less than the submission of the South and the abandonment of the position it held in regard to slavery, or its conquest, would suffice. If the Republic were to continue one and whole, it must be broad-based on an indestructible founda-

tion of liberty and righteousness. So through intrigue, suspicion, through the incapacity of generals, chaos, and heart-breaking disaster on the field, through discord in the council-chamber and oft-deferred hope that sank at times to despair, but as speedily recovered itself, he pursued his way, manifesting tireless patience, heedless of threats, with the tenacity of the resilient wave that, oft-buffed, returns to batter down or to erode its shores. He was undaunted in his singleness of purpose, never yielding to his natural tendency to melancholy, upheld by an unsundering faith in the justice of the great struggle and in his God, with whom he had entered into alliance, and upon whom he cast the huge load of his cares, anxieties, and labours.

Lincoln's courage was never in question. He knew no fear. He braved the wildest elements, calmly riding the storm, and guiding with steady hand his people towards the high goal of which he never for an hour lost sight—to 'unite in the bonds of brotherhood the States now dis-severed, discordant, and belligerent.' No purer patriot ever led to victory a great people. He possessed many of Cromwell's traits; the vigilance, for instance, the inexhaustible caution, the foresight, the indomitable constancy of the immortal Puritan leader, but he was gentler. His whole air breathed tranquil strength, magnanimity, and a noble generosity to friend and foe; and his countenance bore the marks of the inward struggle which had brought to him this perfect mastery of self.

No stain of unscrupulous design stained the mirror of his honour. He was unspoiled by popularity and flattery. The heated atmosphere of the time left him dispassionately just. He passed through the fiery ordeal and came out unscathed. Some of his rivals, it has been remarked, seemed to have adopted as their motto—*ne quis praesit, caeteris adhaereo* (lest any one should gain the mastery, I support the others)—such was their wrong-headedness; but in his equable magnanimity he could smile at unworthy intrigue, could pity littleness in good men, and refuse to allow these things to sever the bonds of friendship. His favourite

weapon was candour. By his frankness he disarmed faction; but if frankness was impossible, he employed not argument, not the wary phrase of the sophist, but silence. At times he was marked, Lowell tells us, by 'a sublime independence of human sympathy, like that with which mountains fascinate and rebuff us.' He could sweep away the pronouncements of the wisest about him when their counsels seemed to savour of cowardice or selfishness, and, standing sublimely alone, act upon his solitary judgement. Yet he was essentially human. His sympathy with his brethren who were denied the rights of free men, and with suffering in general, was intense, and he thirsted to be rightly understood in the loneliness of his lofty position, and in his purpose to secure a union of free men in a free Commonwealth—a purpose dearer to him than party or personal friendships; but he dared to face isolation of spirit; and he remained unchanged amid every conflict.

One unfailing source of comfort and strength was the sympathy and prayers of the Christian Churches. He was moved to the profoundest gratitude by the fidelity of the Methodist Church, in the North in particular, whose clergy, notwithstanding the taunt that they were desecrating their office, 'and prostituting the sacred desk to the miserable and corrupting influence of party politics,' remained true to the great principles at stake. In reply to some resolutions of sympathy sent to him by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Lincoln wrote—

'Nobly sustained as the Government has been by all the Churches, I would utter nothing which might in the least seem invidious against any. Yet, without this, it may be said that the Methodist Episcopal Church, not less devoted than the best, is, by its greatest numbers, the most important of all. It is no fault of others that the Methodist Church sends more soldiers to the field, more nurses to the hospitals, and more prayers to heaven than any other. God bless the Methodist Church; bless all the Churches; and blessed be God, who in our great trial giveth us the Churches.'

R. CORLETT COWELL.

THE CONVERSION OF ICELAND

Origines Islandicae. By Gudbrand Vigfusson and F. York Powell. (Oxford: Clarendon Press.)

THIS great work, which its authors did not live to see through the press, will remain, with *Sturlunga Saga* and the *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, a monument to the memory of two scholars who between them did more for the study of Icelandic in England than any others that can be named. These two volumes contain—with some exasperating omissions—nearly all that the student of Icelandic 'origins' could desire. They bear plainly stamped upon them the mark of their authors, and more especially that of the amazing, the all but superhuman, the disappointing Vigfusson. Here we have the memory that carried without a stagger the whole of the *Edda* word for word, and made the *Rhyme of Skidi*, a poem of eight hundred lines, its own by simply copying it from the manuscript. Here we have the astonishing ingenuity of conjecture and combination which belonged to Vigfusson in as full measure as to Porson. Here also we have the confidence verging on foolhardiness, the inability to distinguish between a plausible guess and a demonstrated fact, the *ipse dixit* and the oracular utterances, which have made Vigfusson almost the drunken Helot of Scandinavian scholarship.

We are not so presumptuous as to aim at the correction of Dr. Vigfusson where we think he has gone too far. We leave that to the few scholars who have the right to measure themselves with him. We desire in this paper simply to select one of the sections of this great work, that which deals with the story of the conversion of Iceland at the end of the tenth century, and to present it to our readers as a specimen of what so many of them miss by their ignorance of the literature of Scandinavia. Nothing,

indeed, is more remarkable than the neglect of that literature by the English people. We are not Welsh, nor Saxon, nor Norman, nor Dane, but a mixture of all the four; and it is not an extravagant guess that the 'predominant partner' is the Dane. For example, the great Anglian school of York, the pride and admiration of Western Europe, vanished utterly from the face of the earth. The Abbey of Streoneshalh, famous as the home of Hilda and Cædmon, was torn up by the roots, and its very name is now forgotten in its Danish appellation of Whitby. A destroying pestilence swept over the fair kingdom of Northumbria; and, when she rose again from her ruins, the new was no more a resurrection of the old than the Carthage of Cyprian was a restoration of the Carthage of Hannibal. We read with natural interest the stories of Cuthbert and Aidan as told by Bede. We ought to read with an equal pride of race the sagas of the Norsemen. It is no mere speculation to see in the colonizing and exploring genius of the modern Englishman the spirit of Rolf and Hardrada reviving under new forms. That wonderful people, which in a single century discovered America, conquered Naples, propped up the falling empire of Byzantium, established kingdoms or republics in Iceland, Greenland, Dublin, France, and Sicily; swept the Mediterranean with corsairs, or traversed Russia on pilgrimages to Jerusalem—and which also, adding caution to enterprise, was perhaps the first race to set up a system of life-assurance—is the same race which, strengthened by the admixture of Celtic and Anglo-Saxon blood, is now spreading its arms around the whole world.

But these extraordinary men were not content to make history: they also wrote it. In the long winter of Iceland these terrible warriors were transformed into poets and narrators. It was then that that great literature was composed, larger in bulk than the whole classical literature of Greece, which has left hardly a family without its saga, and which has produced models in the art of simple storytelling not inferior to the *Odyssey* of Homer or to the

History of Herodotus. As a result, these ancestors of ours have made Iceland and Norway, from about 900 A.D. to 1200, live before us as though the actors were our own contemporaries. And yet, while our students are compelled to read the dull narrative of Xenophon, the vastly more enthralling tales of our own kinsmen are known only to the few. 'Every schoolboy' is punished if he does not know who was the father of Aeneas, or the name of the last king of Rome, or the ports at which the *Argo* touched; but few indeed are those that know who discovered America, or who was the father of Kjartan, or who built the *Long Serpent*. Yet our own language rises up to condemn us. Every 'dream' we dream, every 'ugly' person we see, every time we gaze into the 'sky,' every 'window' we open, every 'fellow' we meet, every 'fell,' 'force,' 'thwaite,' 'holm,' or 'by' we visit, ought to remind us of the rock whence we are hewn. For the antiquary there is a chance of endless research; for the philologist a language of immense importance in the Teutonic family; for the budding Porson or Cobet a crowd of passages as corrupt as any in Aeschylus; for the lover of mere stories a series of sagas full of adventure, passion, and action, and empty of nothing but a wearisome analysis of motive. Yet, while all this lies before us, we pass it by.

These people remained heathen for centuries after their English kinsfolk had embraced Christianity. We know little of the process by which the branch that extorted half of England from Alfred gradually assimilated the religion of their neighbours. But the history of the conversion of that branch which, about the year 900, established itself in Iceland, is known, thanks to the literary habits of the nation, with practical accuracy and in much detail: and it is this story which we propose here to tell. Our authority is mainly the '*Kristni Saga*,' usually ascribed to the historian Ari, but by Vigfusson, with even more than his usual skill and ingenuity, separated into component parts of different age and value. Other information is to be gathered from various sources—the *Saga of Olaf Trygg-*

vason, which is generally attributed to Snorri Sturru-son, who died in 1241; *Njal's Saga*, which in its present form may be dated about 1200; and a few smaller narratives—but the main facts are certain. The discrepancies, few and trivial as they are, are of the kind which confirms our confidence in the general accuracy of the story.

We begin with an Icelandic chief named Thorwald. The Icelanders, as we have already seen, were travellers. They thought nothing of spending one winter in Greenland and the next in Constantinople. But Thorwald was so much more nomadic than the rest of his countrymen as to earn the designation of *Vidforli*, wide-farer *par excellence*; and a little saga specially devoted to him describes the adventures he met with on some of his extended journeys. On one of these expeditions he fell in with a certain Saxon bishop named Frederick. Staying with Frederick for a time, Thorwald seems to have been struck with his mild demeanour, so different from the violence to which he was accustomed; and he allowed himself to be baptized by the bishop. Not content with having learnt the truth himself, he urged Frederick to set out for Iceland, with a view to the conversion of his father Kodran and of his brothers. Accordingly, they started together in the spring of 981. Kodran was slow to receive the new doctrines. He demanded a sign from heaven. 'Here,' he said to Frederick, 'is a stone which guards my house, consecrated by the rites of my ancestors. An *ármann*, or tutelary genius, dwells within it. It would take the sword of Sigurd to break that stone. Let us see what you can do with it.' Frederick accepted the test. He signed the stone with the Cross, and pronounced over it the sacred names, while Kodran and his family, 'halting between two opinions,' stood by to watch the result. Instantly the stone split asunder; the extravagant and erring spirit hied to his confine; and Kodran, perceiving that the bishop's spells were more powerful than those of his ancestors, accepted baptism upon the spot. His sons, however, still hesitated; and it was some time before they followed their father.

After this success, Thorwald and Frederick advanced deeper into the country, and soon had to face a far more formidable enemy than the *ármann*. The Berserks were then a power in the land.

Two of these creatures, both called Hawk, met Frederick and Thorwald; and the people, still doubting between Christ and Thor, watched the contest with interest. A kind of ordeal of battle was proposed: the Berserks chose the test of walking on red-hot ploughshares. Frederick consecrated the ploughshares: it may be that he simply took the precaution to see that they were really hot. Be this as it may, the two demoniacs were sadly scorched. The people, taking courage from the discomfiture of the dreaded pests, attacked the invulnerable pair and killed them. Their bodies were carried up to the head of the 'ghyll,' and there consumed. The chief of the district, Thorkell Krafla, or the Hood, had himself 'prim-signed' on the spot: that is, he put a mark on himself, as was common when heathens met Christians, in token that he would not refuse intercourse with followers of the new god. Others went further, and actually took baptism. So rapid, indeed, was the progress made, especially in the North, that in 984 a church was built, small indeed, and thatched with turf, but a good beginning. Of this church an anecdote is told which is worth repeating, as it is typical of a whole class of stories. It was built by a chief named Thorward, whose brother Arngrim remained heathen. The neighbouring chiefs, objecting to Thorwald's action, went to Arngrim, and gave him his choice either to burn the church or to kill the priest whom the bishop had set up over it. Arngrim replied that though in itself the slaughter of a priest was a small matter, yet Thorward had so often avenged even smaller injuries that it would be well to confine their attentions to the church. Accordingly they went; but a supernatural light from the window put them to speedy flight. On the next evening Arngrim himself kindled a fire both within and without the church, and lay down to watch the result. Then there came an

arrow that just missed his head; a second passed between his shirt and his skin; a third he did not wait to receive. The church was still standing in 1240.

The second mission, under a man named Stephen, was unsuccessful. The third is associated with the name of the most extraordinary apostle in history. This was Thangbrand of Bremen, a clerk of Albert, bishop of that city. Albert perceived in his clerk the double character of a warrior and of a churchman, and endeavoured to make the best use of both. 'Thou art by nature a knight,' he said: 'I give thee a shield, but there is a cross on it, that thou mayest never forget that thou art the knight of our Lord.' How Thangbrand learnt the lesson we shall see. He set out on his crusade, and in Wendland met Olaf Tryggvason, not yet King of Norway, but already famous for his victory over the English at Maldon—a victory celebrated in one of the finest of our old English songs. Olaf was struck with the device on the shield. 'Whom does it denote?' asked he. Thangbrand told him the story which even from the unworthiest lips rarely fails of its effect: the tale of the passion of our Lord and His sufferings on Calvary. Olaf bought the shield, and made Thangbrand his man; but he soon became a far better Christian than his teacher. On his voyage, Thangbrand fell in with a fair Irish girl, whom another man wished to possess. It came to wager of battle, and the priest conquered and killed the layman. The country, not unnaturally, became too hot to hold him; and he accordingly set sail for Norway, where his patron Olaf was now king, and was engaged in his work of preaching Christianity to his subjects. He received Thangbrand kindly, and gave him charge of a church he had just built in the island of Most. But the priest was a spendthrift and a prodigal: his money soon gave out, and he was compelled therefore to betake himself to the only other occupation at that time open to a gentleman, that of a pirate: nor could he always confine his attention to heathen households only. Complaints were made to Olaf, who acted with his usual

straightforwardness. He sent for Thangbrand and told him that he could no longer extend to him his protection. Thangbrand requested that he might be allowed to purge himself by undertaking some hard task. It happened that just at this time Stephen returned from his unsuccessful expedition to Iceland. Olaf, thinking that no task could be harder than the conversion of the obstinate colonists, gave the work into the hand of Thangbrand; and that same summer this remarkable missionary set sail, and after a prosperous voyage landed at Selvoe in the east firths.

He was but coldly received, and would, indeed, have been unable even to dock his ship, if he had not been kindly welcomed by a certain great chief named Hall of the Side—whose history we wish we had time to tell.

In spite, however, of the support of Hall, Thangbrand had many difficulties to contend with. A magician was hired to make the earth open before him; and he narrowly escaped with his life. Skalds employed all the resources of alliteration and circumlocution, in which the Icelandic language is so rich, to make the new religion ridiculous; nor did the priest mend matters by killing one of these poets in revenge for a lampoon. Still worse was it when Thangbrand forcibly took meat from a man named Kol, on the simple ground that Kol had plenty and Thangbrand none. A battle ensued, in which much blood was shed; and, though the missionary was as usual victorious, he did not grow more popular. A Berserk challenged him to a contest: Thangbrand made the sign of the cross over the fire; and when the heathen hero tried to walk through it, the fire showed all its natural power to burn. At last it became necessary for the missionary to leave the country. He had, strange to say, made a few friends—among them Hjalldi, the son of Skeggi, and Gizur the White, two great chiefs; but they could not protect him. He put his ship in order, and sailed for Norway.

On his arrival he found Olaf, fresh from the conversion of Halogoland, surrounded by a company of Ice-

landers. Hjalldi and Gízur had been exiled for blaspheming the gods at the Althing, and were also seeking the king. There also were two young men, recently come from Iceland in search of adventure and glory. They were soon to fall in love with the same beautiful, cold, and haughty woman for whom in turn they were to shed their blood; and their story, told in imperishable prose, was in time to be written down, and to move many generations of hearers and readers to tears; nay, was finally to be enshrined in verse by William Morris in the *Earthly Paradise*: but all this was as yet known only to Guest the seer, and they were still bosom friends; Kjartan the leader, and Bolli his *fidus Achates*. In the port of Nidaros they looked over the side of the ship and saw several men swimming in the bay: one obviously far better than the others. 'That is a good swimmer,' said Bolli; 'try thyself against him, Kjartan.' Kjartan leapt overboard and challenged the man; but, though he had never been beaten before, and was fresh, he found himself no match for his presumably exhausted antagonist. At length he owned himself defeated. 'Let me know the name of my conqueror.' The man said—kings in Norse story are always the 'givers of rings'—'Take this ring, and thou shalt know who I am.' Kjartan knew at once. This was the mighty Olaf Tryggvason, the hero of a hundred fights, he who could keep twelve battle-axes in the air at once, and walk along the oars of a moving trireme; and who, but a year or two later, was to resist a whole fleet in his single ship, the *Long Serpent*, and finally, unconquered, was to pass but not to die. 'Surely,' thought Kjartan, 'it is no disgrace to own service to such a king as this!' He became Olaf's man, and, as the necessary condition of homage, accepted Christianity. 'I will be thine, *herra*, lord,' said he, 'if thou wilt promise to give me no less honour than I should have had in Iceland.' Thus Kjartan took the chrism, and with him Bolli and all that host of young Icelanders who were accustomed to look up to Kjartan as the glass of fashion and the mould of form.

At this moment Thangbrand arrived from Iceland with his news of failure. 'These men refuse to accept thy message, *herra*,' he said; 'they are such magicians that they can make the earth open where they will; and I have but escaped from their sorceries by the skin of my teeth; nor do they honour even thee, O king!'

Olaf was furious when he heard this. In his rage he ordered all the Icelanders in his dominions to be seized, and was for violent measures there and then; but Hjalldi and Gízur approached him, and put things differently. 'Thangbrand,' they said, 'behaved as though he were lord of all, killing men here and insulting men there. It is not to be thought that free men will endure to be treated as Thangbrand has treated them. Send *us*, O king, to try what mildness and persuasion can do: for gentleness may win where force has failed.' Olaf's mood changed. He gave his consent that Hjalldi and Gízur should set forth, and at the next Althing urge the Icelanders to accept the new religion with his friendship.

It was the year 1000. This year had long been expected with dread as the end of the world. It was either in this year, or not long before, that Leif the Happy discovered the New World, five hundred years before Columbus sighted the Bahamas. It was in this year that Olaf at Svold went down before his enemies—and Norway has waited ever since, as Germany for Barbarossa, for his return. It was in this great year that Hjalldi and Gízur appeared at the Althing in Iceland, and proclaimed their message. They spoke long and well; so well, indeed, that a great awe fell upon the heathen, and there was a dead silence on the Hill of Laws. But all was not over. After a short time there began a curious ceremony. One man after another named him witnesses, heathen swearing himself out of the law with Christian, and Christian with heathen. Had this been permitted to go on, the consequences would have been frightful; for it must be remembered that in the society of that age the unatoned murder of a man at once let loose all the relatives of the victim

upon all the relatives of the murderer; and that any offence, however trifling, was considered sufficient justification for a homicide. Men like Njal the sage, or Snorri the priest, who was regarded as the wisest man in Iceland of those that had not the gift of second-sight, were not likely to disregard considerations of national well-being at such a crisis as this. Njal had spent a long life in composing disputes; Snorri, by a series of sagacious acts, had begun to establish a tradition in favour of wisdom as against violence: and Hall of the Side was with them to maintain the constitution. An accident enabled the cool and sceptical Snorri to show his hand. A man came running to say that the house of a prominent Christian was being destroyed by lava. The heathen took heart. 'No wonder,' they said, 'if the gods were angry at hearing such speeches as those of Hjalldi and Gísur.' But Snorri, standing on a heap of cold lava, cried, 'What were the gods angry with, then, when they sent forth the lava on which I am standing?' It was plain that Snorri was not for the gods, whether he were for Christ or not: and the crisis was for a moment tided over. Men left the Hill of Laws without coming to a final decision.

Meanwhile, Hall had been approaching a man who, for the time being, had even more authority than Njal or Snorri. This was Thorgeirr the Law-Speaker or Deemster. On hearing Hall, Thorgeirr came out, laid himself down with a rug over his head, and remained thus for a full twenty-four hours. This solemn and symbolic act awed both sides; action was still further suspended, and deliberation took its place. It soon appeared that the Christians were stronger than had been supposed. In addition to Hall, Hjalldi, and Gísur, there appeared Guest, the renowned seer, Hlenni the Old, and Odd, Kodran's son, who thus at last followed the example of his father. Against such men as these it was of little avail for the heathen to sacrifice two criminals from each of the four quarters of the island. Next day Thorgeirr arose, and summoned all men to the Hill of Laws. On that vener-

able Areopagus he made a speech which has come down to us in outline. 'Methinks,' said he, 'that things have come to a sore pass when men have not one law in the land. From such a division come wars and battles, even to the laying waste of the country. In my youth,' said he, 'there were two kings, Dag in Denmark, and Tryggvi in Norway; and they strove long, but neither could conquer the other. At last the men of both countries compelled them to make peace against their will; and after no long time these two kings were as great friends as they had been enemies. Wherefore it seems to me best not to let those men have their will who are most violent on either side, but to follow the men who are less out and out: so that each side may gain somewhat and lose somewhat; but let us not divide the law. For it was a wise saying of our ancestors, He who divideth the law divideth peace.'

To these words all agreed with acclamation; and Thorgeirr then went on to declare the simple first Toleration Act of our race. All men were to be baptized and believe in one God; but they might sacrifice in secret to the old gods if they chose. With regard to the exposure of children and the eating of horse-flesh—two crimes regarded by the Christians as of equal atrocity—the old law should hold; men could do as they would. A few plain rules followed as to the keeping of Sundays and fast-days. Shortly afterwards the whole assembly was baptized: a few only waiting until they found a warm geyser in which the ceremony might be as comfortable as possible. The wise Snorri set the example; and a great calamity was averted.

Much, indeed, was left to be done. Old vendettas still lived: the spirit of Thangbrand lasted long, and that of Bishop Frederick found slow and difficult entrance. Old superstitions did not die.

Nor did the advent of Christianity put an end to private feuds, to the constant homicides which half depopulated Iceland, or the thousand other forms of crime which crowd the sagas. Yet are the sagas, full as they are of bloodshed and devilry, not without their signs that in some

silent and invisible way the heaven of divine love was working. As the hero Gisli followed now one now the other of his two dream-women, the one dark and counselling ill, the other white and luring to better ways, so it was with Iceland as a whole. She had her saints, like John and Thorlak, and her villains, like Mord of Njal's Saga: and not seldom the saints prevailed. Yet her progress was not very slow after all. Iceland embraced the faith in the year 1000. In 1133 was born the saintly Thorlak, whose life will bear comparison with that of the gentlest Christian that ever turned the other cheek to the smiter. Nay, within a dozen years of the conversion, the aged Njal, surrounded in his burning house by his enemies, refused to go out lest he should be tempted to seek revenge, wrapped his rug around him, and lay down to die, assured that God would not permit him to burn both in this world and in the next.

E. E. KELLETT.

JEWISH HOME TEACHING AND OLD TESTAMENT CRITICISM

DURING the last century the labours of many eminent men have been devoted to the subject of Old Testament study, and practical unanimity may be said to have been reached as to the course of the development of the literature. Less attention has, however, been given to the question of the history of the narratives before they assumed literary shape. Between the events themselves and the incorporation of the record in a written document the critical hypothesis supposes that hundreds of years elapsed. How were the narratives kept in living circulation during the interval? To what ancient custom or institution are we indebted for the preservation of the nation's memories? And to what extent has the substance of the narratives been affected by the fluidity of their condition before being permanently embodied in written form?

Indications as to the direction in which the answers to these questions are to be sought are furnished by the well-known habits of Orientals of the present day. They excel as *raconteurs*, and many dull hours in the tent and over the camp-fire are enlivened by narratives of love, war, and adventure. The stories thus told are received into wonderfully retentive minds, and are handed down intact from generation to generation.¹ Quite apart from any specific reference to such a custom in the Old Testament, scholars would doubtless have assigned it a place in the structure of the Pentateuch, but many definite statements on the subject place the matter beyond doubt. Long before

¹ See Wright's *Synopsis of the Gospels in Greek*, p. xiv f. Dr. Wright supports, by reference to this Eastern custom, the solution of the Synoptic Problem by means of the Oral Hypothesis.

national events were recorded in the Books of the Wars of Jahweh or the Book of Jashar, the experiences of the nation's ancestors had been handed down in the families of the people of God as their most precious national heritage.

Passages which reflect this custom will at once suggest themselves to the Bible student. Thus in the narrative of the Plagues there is embedded the exhortation to Moses to 'tell in the ears of thy son, and of thy son's son, what things I have wrought upon Egypt, and My signs which I have done among them' (Exod. x. 2). Again, in a well-known passage in Deuteronomy (vi. 6 f.), we read, 'These words, which I command thee this day, shall be upon thine heart: and thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children,' &c. Evidently the deposit of tradition was no mere secular narrative of prodigious ancestors and their wonderful achievements; it expressed not only national pride but national obligation. The whole was pervaded and dominated by sincere religious feeling; and while Jahweh was magnified for His wondrous deeds, at the same time His requirements were enforced and His service was inculcated.

Corresponding with the frequent injunctions to hand on to descendants the deposit of sacred truth, we meet with occasional expressions of gratitude on the part of individuals for the tradition received from their ancestors. Thus one of the psalmists, assuming the rôle of *laudator temporis acti*, writes:

We have heard with our ears, O God, our fathers have told us,

What work Thou didst in their days, in the days of old.
Thou didst drive out the nations with Thy hand, and
plantedst them in. (xliv. 1, 2).

And another determines to hand on to the children what he has heard from the fathers:

I will open my mouth in a parable;
I will utter dark sayings of old:
Which we have heard and known,

And our fathers have told us.
We will not hide them from their children,
Telling to the generation to come the praises of Jahweh,
And His strength, and His wondrous works that He hath
done . . . (lxxviii. 2-7).

It was not always the case, however, that the recollection of the tradition evoked expressions of praise. In times when the nation was passing through deep waters, the thought of the wonders of the past would perhaps tend to deepen the depression of spirit, and might suggest the inference that Jahweh had forsaken His chosen people. This was the state of mind in which the divine messenger found Gideon as he was threshing his wheat in the winepress for fear of the Midianites: 'O my lord,' said he, 'if Jahweh be with us, why then is all this befallen us? and where be all His wondrous works which our fathers told us of, saying, Did not Jahweh bring us up from Egypt? but now Jahweh hath cast us off, and delivered us into the hand of Midian' (Judges vi. 13).

But the Old Testament supplies us with a still clearer and more detailed conception of what was constantly taking place in the family life of the people of Israel. We are introduced to the suggestive spectacle, repeated in exact detail in every Christian family of the present day, of a child asking his father for the explanation of the various services and rites and monuments connected with religious worship. How many of us have received our first religious instruction in the form of parental answers to our childish questions: 'Father, why do we do this? Why does the minister say that? What is this for? How did we come to have that?' And, to a greater extent than we are sometimes aware of, we are indebted to similar questions and answers for the preservation of Old Testament narratives. Each successive generation asks for, and receives, and hands on to the next, the story of some wondrous work of God which explains the origin of a custom, the meaning of an institution, or the erection of a monument. Thus in reference to the Passover we read: 'When your children

shall say unto you, What mean ye by this service? ye shall say, It is the sacrifice of Jahweh's passover, who passed over the houses of the children of Israel in Egypt, when He smote the Egyptians, and delivered our houses' (Exod. xii. 26 f.; cf. xiii. 8). The dedication of the firstborn is also to be explained to the children in answer to their inquiries: 'When thy son asketh thee in time to come, saying, What is this? thou shalt say unto him, By strength of hand Jahweh brought us out from Egypt . . . therefore I sacrifice to Jahweh all that openeth the womb, being males: but all the firstborn of my sons I redeem' (xiii. 14 f.).

Again in Joshua iv. 6 f., 21 f., we hear the child, eager for information as to the causes of things, asking: 'What mean (ye by) these stones?' And in reply the Jewish father narrates the wonderful story of the cutting off of the waters of Jordan, and the crossing of Israel on dry land.

Many other Old Testament passages which bear witness to this practice of oral tradition are indicated in a note below;¹ but we have cited enough to give some idea of the extent of our indebtedness to the custom for our possession of Israel's early historical narratives. The state of servitude in Egypt; the plagues; the exodus and crossing of the sea; the passover; the consecration of the firstborn; the crossing of Jordan; the conquest of Canaan—all these are definitely referred to as being embodied in the traditional inheritance. We thus see that the work of the earliest national historians consisted very largely in the selection, arrangement, harmonizing, and reduction to literary form of narratives that had already had a long existence in more fluid condition.

But these passages by no means exhaust the available evidence. If in so many cases there is clear indication of

¹ Gen. xviii. 19; Deut. iv. 9 f., vi. 20 ff., xi. 19, xxxii. 7, 46; Job viii. 8, 10, xv. 18; Joel i. 3; Ps. cii. 18. N.B.—In the last, the message is to be 'written for the generation to come.'

dependence on oral tradition, it is very probable that its influence has also been exerted where it is less easy to trace. We proceed, therefore, to discuss instances of this nature. The clearest case can, perhaps, be made out for narratives of events which afford an explanation of the name of a certain locality. They commonly conclude with the formula: 'Therefore the name of that place was called . . . , ' and the words suggest that the stories were probably perpetuated by answers given to the frequently recurring question, 'Father, why was this place called so-and-so?' Near the writer's home is a hill, known locally as '*Hanging Hill*'—a name which excites in the children of the place a natural curiosity as to its origin. The reply that is always given is to the effect that a certain man *hanged* himself from a tree on the hill that is pointed out to the inquirer. But for this popular explanation, the story of the suicide would long ago have faded into oblivion. In a similar manner the heads of Israelite households used to explain local names, and thus perpetuated stories of the patriarchs connected with them. The following passages will serve as illustrations:

Gen. xvi. 14: Beer-lahai-roi—expulsion of Hagar; xix. 22: Zoar—escape of Lot; xxi. 31, xxvi. 33: Beer-sheba—covenant with Abimelech; xxii. 14: Jehovah-jireh—offering of Isaac; xxviii. 19, xxxv. 15: Beth-el (cf. xxxv. 6f.: El-beth-el)—journeyings of Jacob; xxxii. 2 (7, 10): Mahanaim—meeting with angels; xxxii. 30 (xxxiii. 10): Peniel—wrestling with God; xxxv. 8: Allon-bacuth—death of Deborah (cf. Judges iv. 5).¹

In addition to these clear examples, in which the name of the place is definitely connected with the scene there enacted, there appear to be a few instances in which the connexion between the name and the event is not brought out in the narrative, e.g.:

Gen. xxi. 28-30: Beer-sheba—alternative explanation = 'well of seven'; xxxii. 7, 10: Mahanaim—alternative

¹ See also Gen. xi. 9, xxvi. 20-22, xxxi. 47-49, xxxiii. 17, 20; xxxv. 20; 1. 11; Exod. xv. 23, xvii. 7.

explanation of the 'two companies'; xxxii. 22, 24; Jabbok—from verb meaning 'to wrestle'; xxxiii. 10: Peniel—alternative explanation of 'the face of God.'

It will be seen that in connexion with the popular explanation of such local names, no inconsiderable section of the history of the patriarchs may well have been handed down. We do not of course maintain that in all these cases the exact medium of the tradition was the family life of the people. Many of the places were regarded as sacred, and their long-established religious associations attracted considerable numbers of visitors. These would naturally desire and receive information as to the events that bestowed the special sacredness on the place, and thus the local folk-lore would not only be preserved, but would also spread to a wider community.

We now pass to a form of tradition closely related to the preceding, but using as a medium the names of persons instead of the names of places. The deep interest which the Israelites, in common with other Orientals, felt in the bestowal of a personal name is frequently to be observed in the Old Testament, and this interest was not confined to the appellation of contemporaries. The names of their great ancestors were 'familiar in their mouths as household words,' and their significance would be inquired about by successive generations. Accordingly we find that many of the narratives of the patriarchs bear indications of having been handed down as explanations of the circumstances under which certain names were given. The following list illustrates this class:

Gen. xvi. 11: Ishmael—flight of Hagar; xvii. 17, 19: Isaac—(P) Abraham's incredulity (cf. xviii. 12, 15: (J) divine visit, and Sarah's incredulity; and xxi. 6: (E) Sarah's gladness); xxv. 25, xxvii. 11: Esau—deception by Jacob; xxv. 30: Edom—sale of birthright for *red* pottage (but cf. xxv. 25*a.*); xxv. 26, xxvii. 36: Jacob—twice repeated trickery; xxx. 23 f.: Joseph—two derivations—*take away*, *add*; xxxii. 28: Israel—(J) wrestling with God (cf. xxxv. 10 f.: (P) royal progeny).

Such narratives account for another considerable portion of our knowledge of the patriarchs.¹

Hitherto, in speaking of both the kinds of tradition that we have considered, we have deliberately avoided the use of the term 'etymological.' Strictly speaking, it is *assonance*² rather than etymology that is the connecting link between the name of the place or person, and the story handed down by way of explanation. In many cases the supposed connexion probably rests upon a mistaken idea, and some other explanation of the name must be sought.³ *Moses*, for instance, should probably be connected with an Egyptian word *mes*, *mesu*, meaning 'son, child.'⁴ *Edom* (red) should probably be explained by the red colour of the sandstone cliffs⁵ (cf. *English Albion*).

We have noticed also that in several cases the biblical narrative itself supplies us with duplicate,⁶ or even triplicate,⁷ explanations of the origin of the name. Neither this fact, however, nor the matter of 'assonance' just referred to, can surprise us when we take into account the conditions under which oral tradition is handed down. But we are concerned to know how far the *historical reliability* of the narratives is affected by these considerations, i.e. whether the doubtful connexion between the name and the explanatory event, and the discrepant biblical accounts as to the particular incident which is to be connected with the name, are of such a character as to cast a doubt on the historicity of the events themselves. For instance, when we find two different explanations of the name *Beer-sheba* ('well of

¹ See also Gen. xvii. 5, 15, xxix. 32—xxx. 20, xxxv. 18, 19, xli. 51, 52; Exod. ii. 10, 22.

² So Driver in *Hastings' Dictionary*, II. 528a. s.v. Jacob.

³ In this article we are concerned with proper names simply as they are media for tradition. For a critical discussion of Hebrew proper names see Prof. G. B. Gray's article in *Hastings' Dictionary* and the literature there referred to.

⁴ So W. H. Bennett in *Hastings' Dictionary*, III. 438b.

⁵ So Sayce, *ibid.*, II. 644b.

⁶ Beer-sheba, Mahanaim, Peniel, Edom, Joseph, Israel.

⁷ Beth-el, Isaac.

seven,' Gen. xxi. 28 f.: 'well of swearing,' xxi. 31; xxvi. 31, 33), and in connexion with the latter explanation, two different accounts of the persons who ratified the compact that gave the place its name; how do these differences affect our estimate of the historical reliability of the narratives? Is each narrative to be discounted by the conflicting testimony of the others? Or is each narrative to be regarded as substantially true, and only the right to connect the name with the event to be regarded as doubtful?

The answer to these questions depends very largely on subjective considerations, and must do so as long as there is no testimony exterior to the biblical narratives that can be pressed into service. It is possible that archaeological discoveries may in the future do something to elucidate such matters, and for the present it is well to maintain an attitude of open-minded reserve. Probably those critics who regard all the stories of the patriarchal period as unhistorical, and those apologists and harmonists who refuse to concede any unhistorical element, are equally at fault: the truth lies somewhere between the two extremes.

We have already referred to the natural desire of children to know the meaning and origin of the religious customs which they are taught to observe, and the same applies also to social manners and customs in general. Several of the narratives appear to have been handed down in explanation or commendation of such observances, including the following:

Gen. ii. 2 f.: sabbath; xvii. 10, 25, xxi. 4: circumcision (cf. Exod. iv. 25 f.); xxii. 13: cessation of human sacrifice in Israel as compared with surrounding nations; xxiv. 3 f.; xxix. 19: stories inculcating desirability of marriage with kindred; xxix. 26: marriage of elder before younger sister; xxviii. 22: dedication of tithes (cf. xiv. 20); xxxii. 32: abstinence from sinew of thigh; Exod. xii. 34, 39, xiii. 3, 6 f.: eating of unleavened bread at Passover.

Stories of this nature are no more free from critical

investigation than those we have already considered. The anthropologist and the student of Comparative Religion subject these customs to the same minute examination as is conducted with regard to other peoples and their religions. When, as is sometimes the case, a very close agreement is found to exist between the cultus of Israel and that of other nations surrounding them, what is to be said for the biblical narrative that professes to give an account of the origin of the customs? The practice of circumcision is a case in point: it is shared by the Arabians, Egyptians, Abyssinians, and many other races,¹ and its origin appears to go back to immemorial antiquity. The scientific study of such matters is still in its infancy, and no adequate solution of the problems presented can yet be given; but the explanation may possibly be that in the case of the Hebrews a common custom was invested with a special religious significance, as a badge of the national covenant with Jahweh; and something similar may perhaps be said concerning the observance of the Sabbath.

Closely connected with the stories which explain and enforce certain religious and social customs, are others purporting to give the history of famous sacred relics. We have already alluded to the memorial stones near the Jordan, in explanation of which the fathers were exhorted to tell the children the story of the nation's deliverance and providential guidance to the promised land. There are at any rate three other relics around which narratives of the nation's history have collected. We refer to the pot of manna, 'Aaron's rod that budded,' and the tables of the covenant, all stated in Heb. ix. 4 to have been contained in the Ark of the Covenant. According to 1 Kings viii. 9, 'there was nothing in the Ark save the two tables of stone' when it was transferred by Solomon from the Tent to the Most Holy Place. These are also the only contents referred to in Deut. x. 1-5, which describes the Ark as being made for the express purpose of containing the tables. But whether in the Ark or not, it is evident

¹ So A. Macalister in *Hastings' Dictionary*, I. 442b.

from Exod. xvi. 32 f. and Num. xvii. 10, that a pot of manna and a rod were preserved in some sacred place, described as 'before Jahweh' and 'before the testimony.' The manna was to be 'kept for your generations, that they may see the bread wherewith I fed you in the wilderness'; and the rod was 'to be kept for a token against the children of rebellion; that thou mayest make an end of their murmurings against Me, that they die not.' One cannot be far wrong in supposing that each of these relics served as a centre around which were grouped, and in connexion with which were handed down, remarkable incidents accounting for their peculiar sanctity. Such incidents will of course include the giving of the law to Moses on Mount Sinai, the feeding of the people in the wilderness, and the insurrection of Korah; but we must probably include also the other incidents in which the rod of Aaron (or of Moses) plays a prominent part, such as the plagues of Egypt, the dividing of the Red Sea, and the smiting of the rock to obtain water.

It remains now to suggest a few ways in which the records of Israel's early history have been affected by the process of oral transmission. We should naturally expect to find that a story handed down from father to son through many generations had undergone certain changes. It is likely that exact details of topography, chronology, and succession of events would be lost, and that the narratives would tend to become more general and less particular in character, embodying also in process of time anachronisms from subsequent periods. It is likely also that variants would be found between the settings of the same story in different localities, and that these differences might even be so great as to lead a compiler to embody the same narrative twice. These characteristics we actually find in the traditional history of Israel's ancestors. Indications of the political condition of Palestine at the time of the patriarchs are so completely absent from their history that the discovery in recent years of an advanced state of civilization contemporary with Abraham has come as a

surprise to every reader of Genesis. On the other hand it is beyond reasonable doubt that much of the patriarchal story reflects later thought and records later history, so that we have here a most valuable mirror of the ideals of the settled nation. As this fact becomes more widely recognized, the narratives will assuredly be invested with a far wider interest than ever before, and we shall realize, in an increasing measure, our indebtedness to those who handed on from father to son through many generations the priceless heritage of Israel's oral traditions.

ERNEST G. LOOSLEY.

INDIA IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

A Vision of India as seen during the Tour of the Prince and Princess of Wales. By SIDNEY LOW. (London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1906.)

The Web of Indian Life. By the SISTER NIVEDITA (Margaret E. Noble). (London: W. Heinemann. 1904.)

Western Culture in Eastern Lands: A Comparison of the Methods adopted by England and Russia in the Middle East. By ARMINIUS VAMBÉRY, C.V.O. (London: John Murray. 1906.)

The Growth of New Political Forces in India: Letters from the Indian Correspondent of the 'Times,' April 23 and 24, 1906.

IT is to be hoped that the recent tour of the Prince and Princess of Wales in India will, amongst other beneficial results to be anticipated from it, have the effect of arousing Englishmen from a general indifference with regard to all that concerns that country, which is justly described by Mr. Sidney Low in his account of the Royal visit as 'amazing and ominous.' Though India, as was well said by Mr. Morley in his Budget speech, 'holds one of three or four master-keys of the strength of Great Britain,' and though the British Government is as responsible for the well-being of its 300,000,000 of inhabitants as it is for that of those of these islands, it is only on the rare occasions when some crisis in its affairs calls for the special intervention of Parliament that we trouble ourselves in any way to consider what this responsibility implies. 'The masses who are the real rulers of India's rulers,' says Mr. Low, 'seem content to remain ignorant; the middle classes, except so far as they have friends or relatives in

the country, uninterested.' Though Parliament is always ready to exercise its powers of control over officials whose life-long experience of the character and needs of our Indian fellow subjects especially qualifies them to deal with them, neither its members nor those who elect them make any effort to acquire that knowledge of India which alone can render their interference with its affairs beneficial.

A Vision of India may be recommended as a powerful and extremely pleasant corrective of this ignorance and indifference. The graphic descriptions, keen insight, and sense of humour of the author carry the reader with him, and he finds himself insensibly led by the analysis of 'the fascinating amalgam' of our Asiatic Empire, 'with its splendour and its contradictions, its colour and its mystery, its wealth and its poverty, its medley of classes, creeds, and peoples,' to the consideration of some of the more important problems which it suggests. It would indeed be difficult to find any tract in the world which comprises such a striking variety of suggestive contrasts—physical, racial, social, and religious—as that included between Kashmir and Cape Comorin, and while the capitals of the three British Presidencies have each special characteristics of their own, they all differ from the great native cities as much as these do from each other.

The southern capital, founded in the reign of Charles I by the agents of the East India Company on the surf-beaten shores of Madras, near the old Portuguese settlement of St. Thomé, the citadel of which, Fort St. George, will always be associated with the name of Clive, to whom more than to any other man we owe our Indian Empire,¹ had its 300,000 inhabitants when Bombay and Calcutta, which have now so much overshadowed it, were small and struggling towns. While it is little more than fifty years since we acquired the Punjab and Oude, and the settlement of the North-West Province is hardly yet completed,

¹ Though Madras has a monument to Neill, one of the Mutiny heroes, she has no memorial apparently of Clive, and Mr. Low questions whether there is one in India, p. 237.

we have been nearly three centuries in the Madras Presidency, the Government of which had long ago settled questions of administration with which those of the newer provinces are still engaged. In the North-West, and even in Bombay and Calcutta, some knowledge of the vernacular is indispensable for intercourse with the natives, but there are residents of many years' standing in Madras who know nothing of it, and masters and mistresses almost habitually address their servants in English; while the educational superiority of the Presidency is shown by the fact that it boasts more persons per thousand who can read and write than any other province in India. Though the main stream of commerce which formerly made the city a world-famous trade centre has been somewhat diverted, the continuance of the energy which established it is shown by the recent conversion of its open roadstead into a fine harbour, in which ships like the *Renown* and the *Terrible* can moor alongside the wharves; and the railways, roads, and notably the irrigation works of the Presidency, challenge comparison with those of any of its rivals. In the neighbouring native state of Mysore, a political adjunct of Madras, and one of the most important feudatory provinces in Southern India, except that of the Nizam, are the Kolar goldfields, containing some of the richest mines in the world, worked with the most up-to-date machinery, and in which European miners, under Welsh and Scotch foremen, work side by side with native coolies. There are probably few more remarkable things in all Asia than the establishment by the State Government of the Sivasamudram power station, planned by an Anglo-Canadian officer of the Royal Engineers, and fitted up and managed by the General Electric Company of Schenectady, New York, by means of which the falls of the Cauvery have been utilized for transmitting energy to these gold-mines over ninety miles of intervening country. The company's works stand near, if not actually on, the site of a shrine of Siva, the elemental force which brings life and death—a notable instance, as Mr. Low points out, of the conflict between the West

'purposefully binding Nature to the service of man,' and the East 'trembling before Nature as a cruel, capricious Colossus avid of lust and blood.' But the conflict is only now beginning, and we may wonder with him whether 'the old gods are vanquished yet,' and whether 'Siva or Schenectady will prevail in the end.'

Calcutta, like Madras, owes its origin entirely to English adventure, and possesses an interesting memorial of its foundation in the grave of Mr. Job Charnock—the first of a series of great merchants and statesmen who contributed to its greatness—who bought the site for the East India Company 270 years ago, and married a Hindu widow whom he forcibly rescued from committing suttee. Apart from its superior importance as the seat of Imperial Government, it differs from it, however, in being the centre also of a thriving manufacturing community; and its bustling activity and streets of European-looking houses contrast as strongly with the sober official routine of Madras, with its spacious bungalows, each standing in its own large well-planted compound, as do the quick-witted, energetic Bengalis with the good-humoured but rather indolent Tamil and Telugu races of the south. Unlike most Indian cities, in which the members of the governing race are poor, and wealth seems to be chiefly in native hands, it possesses a rich European community, which dominates commerce, and in this it is diametrically opposite to Bombay, where the native owns nearly all the land and most of the money, and has gradually ousted the Europeans from their handsome bungalows in the once fashionable quarter of Malabar Hill. In spite of its fine Europeanized public buildings, it is still a native town, in which the white man has to force his way through the crowds of the sturdy little descendants of the Mahrattas and tribesmen of the coast who throng the bazaars, and which is full of educated and emancipated Parsis, Hindus, and Mohammedans who can associate familiarly with Europeans, frequently travel to England and the Continent, read English books, play English games, and sometimes,

when indoors, wear English clothes. It is pre-eminently the city of the Parsi millionaire, but it is also the city of the plague, which the Madras Government has succeeded in excluding by a well-organized system of inspection on the Presidency frontiers; and it may be noted that Mr. Low states that 'for pure filth, foulness, degradation, and outward misery' London has more painful sights to show than any pointed out to him when visiting some of the dwellings in congested districts of Bombay which had been condemned on account of the plague.

Striking, however, as are these contrasts of European and Asiatic civilization, the purely Oriental cities, with their wealth of historical associations, will always have a greater attraction for lovers of the picturesque. Such in Rajputana—whose inhabitants reminded Mr. Low of the Highlanders not only by their manners and chivalrous instincts, but also, if we allow for their brown colouring, by their physique—are Udaipur, 'the city of enchanted lakes'; Jodhpur, the capital of Manaar, a state better known to Englishmen than most by the popularity of Sir Pertab Singh, the Prime Minister of the late Maharajah; the 'red rose city' of Jaipur; and Bikaner, a 'fragment of Africa or Arabia transported to India.' In the province of Agra is Allahabad, famous for the great Pilgrim Fair held once in twelve years, where the Ganges and Jumna meet below its walls, and to which and other pilgrim centres the pilgrims who formerly came on foot now travel by rail, as many as twenty-eight closely packed third-class trains often arriving in a single day. In that of Oude is the sacred city of Benares, 'the metropolis of Hinduism,' where the tourist, as he is rowed along the sacred river of the Ganges, beside which every Hindu would, if permitted, like to die, will always see a corpse stretched on the pile of logs crackling on the burning ghat. Lastly, in the far North-West, where the flower of the Anglo-Indian Army is always concentrated, is the historic city of Peshawar, facing the breach in the mountain barrier of our frontiers through which the Scythian, Tartar, Arab, and Mogul invaders of India have

in turn descended on its fertile plains, and through which, were the sentinels of Peshawar withdrawn, 'the Afghan and Russian might swoop to-morrow.'

Ancient as is the history of most of these cities, they are probably less emblematic of the 'changeless East' than the villages, which, as they lie away from the railway and are only approachable by field paths and jungle tracks, can only be visited with the aid of the collector of the district. Indian rural communities, Mr. Low tells us, are still much the same as when they were visited 2,000 years ago by Megasthenes, agent for Seleucus at the court of Chandra Gupta, King of the Lower Ganges. Though the social structure is more consolidated in some provinces than in others, each remains as then 'a complete society with its various classes and orders, its aristocracy, its helots, and its regular hierarchy of officials, each having his own appointed duties to perform.'

This reverence of the Hindu for the 'wisdom of his forefathers' is equally displayed in his observance of religious rites prescribed by the ancient Code of Manu, and in these women play a prominent part. 'Even in a city the routine of a Hindu home is an unbroken reminder of the ancestral village,' says Miss Noble in her *Web of Indian Life*. In both, 'as the light of dawn breaks on the long curving street . . . the chance passer-by will see at every door some kneeling woman busied with the ceremony of the Salutation of the Threshold'—tracing, as Indian women have done for thousands of years, a pattern on the pavement in lines of powdered rice, with flowers arranged at regular points within it, as an indication that the rites of cleansing and worship have been duly performed. Though her enthusiasm for her subject sometimes suggests that she is showing only the better side, the unique experience gained by Miss Noble by living as a Hindu among the working classes in Calcutta, where she had a school for girls, gives an especial value to her thoughtful and sympathetic studies of Hinduism both as the popular faith and also in its more purely ethical aspects.

Her descriptions of the simplicity and decorum of the home life; the patience and self-effacement of the Hindu women; and the strength and purity which the naturally warm affection between all the members of the family derive from reverence felt by the wife for the husband to whom she was solemnly devoted in childhood by rites uniting them for ever, and by the son throughout life for the mother whom from childhood he addresses as 'most honoured,' are striking proofs of her conclusion that 'all that coherence and social unity which the West has lost within the last few centuries remain still in the Orient intact.' This conclusion is to some extent endorsed by the statements of Mr. Low 'that the Hindus are a kindly people, with more highly developed family affections than ourselves,' and that there are no workhouses in India because 'the obligation to provide for kinsfolk and friends in distress is universally acknowledged.' In her analysis of the caste system, however, Miss Noble ignores both the brutalities such as child widowhood and female infanticide which, as Mr. Low points out, it has engendered, and also the absurdities resulting from some of its extreme developments—such as the rules respecting pollution, under which a high-class Brahman may be polluted by blacksmiths, masons, and carpenters at a distance of twenty-four feet, by toddy drawers at thirty-six feet, and by pariahs at twenty-one yards twelve inches, and even a coolie carrying home his porridge is obliged carefully to avoid the passing sahib. And yet Mr. Low is forced to confess that the caste system, notwithstanding its 'crudities and cruelties,' is 'the main cause of the fundamental stability and contentment by which Indian society has been braced for centuries against the shocks of politics and the cataclysms of Nature. It provides every man with his place, his career, his occupation, his circle of friends. . . . It is to the Hindu his club, his trade union, his benefit society. . . . An India without caste it is as yet not quite easy to imagine.'

It is important to bear these characteristics of Hinduism in mind, because it is the faith of 207,146,000 of the inhabit-

ants of India, where, as throughout Asia, religion is always a stronger force than the feeling of nationality; but its population of 294,802,000 also comprises 62,458,000 Moham-medans, 9,923,000 Buddhists, 2,195,000 Sikhs, 94,000 Parsis, 18,000 Jews, and 2,923,000 Christians, besides some 10,000,000 professors of various forms of animism. No less than seventy different languages and dialects are spoken amongst the various races which hold these different beliefs, and, while the inhabitants of no two countries in Europe differ as greatly as do those of Southern India from the Sikhs or the Gurkhas, a native of Calcutta or Bombay is as much a foreigner in Delhi or Peshawar as is an Englishman in Paris or Rome. In addition to the fourteen provinces under direct British rule, India comprises forty-five feudatory states, among the minor of which Indore is larger than Saxony and Jaipur than Holland, while Gwalior is equal in area to Scotland and the territories of the Nizam to Great Britain.

India is, in short, not a country but a congeries of countries, whose united area is larger than Europe without Russia, and possesses as many varieties of climate, race, creeds, and customs. It is, therefore, perhaps consonant with its pervading atmosphere of contrast that only 1,200 Englishmen, or four to every million natives, should be employed in its civil administration, and that—while there is one soldier in Germany for every twenty persons, and even in the United Kingdom one for every forty or fifty—its defence should be entrusted to 200,000 troops, of whom only some 76,000 are British, an average of one soldier to every twenty persons. It is, as Mr. Low points out, upon the governing capacity of the subordinate officials in charge of the district, the unit of Indian administration, far more than upon lieutenant-governors, members of council, or even viceroys, that the efficiency of this vast administrative machine depends. The area of jurisdiction of the district magistrate—or, as he is called in some provinces, collector or deputy commissioner—may be as large as Kent or Yorkshire, and he is personally responsible

for the good behaviour and social condition of its million or so of inhabitants, as well as for the management of its roads, railways, and canals, its agriculture, trade, and commerce, for the supervision of its dispensaries, and the prevention of plague, famine, and epidemics. Mr. Low pays a handsome tribute to the value of the work of these provincial administrators, who are to some extent judges as well as governors, and who 'live in camp nearly all the winter, fry and bake in the summer, and simmer and stew during the rains,' and also to that performed by the junior officers of some of the regiments on the North-West Frontier, such as the Khyber Rifles—a corps of Afridis commanded by Englishmen, which has been raised in pursuance of the same policy which converted the caterans and cattle-raiders of the Scotch Highlands into the Gordons and Black Watch. The British subaltern, 'who handles his half-hundred of wind-baked ruffians much as if they were the second eleven and he their captain,' must be something of a linguist, an ethnologist, a cartographer, and a diplomatist. 'He may be shot down by a stray sniper from the hills any morning as he goes his rounds; he has no one to talk to but three or four of his own comrades, no society, no amusements, hardly any leisure; he is always drilling his men, or teaching them, making up their accounts, or finding out what mischief is brewing in the villages. . . . There are those who say that the young British officer is always foolish and always idle. They should go and look at him in India, and above all on the Frontier.'¹

Happily for us and for its peoples, the Englishman, who in his native country is content, in nine cases out of ten, to delegate his rights in the management of public affairs to others, and even to allow his thinking to be done for him, seldom fails on entering the public service in India to develop the hitherto innate capacity for governing, which is perhaps the strongest of our national characteristics, and

¹ *A Vision of India*, p. 148.

an increased sense of patriotism. From the earliest days of the East India Company's rule our Indian officials, both civil and military, have been distinguished for the strong and patriotic sense of duty, firmness, fairness, and sagacity, which Mr. Morley, in the speech already alluded to, described as being the characteristics of these so-called 'sun-dried bureaucrats' to-day. Owing to the increased facilities for rapid communication, few of the latter probably now have the opportunities for acquiring that intimacy with the natives which resulted from the transformation in some cases into semi-Asiatics of such of their predecessors as spent the greater part or even the whole of their lives in India; but the large majority of them are still no less animated by the same kindly feeling and humanity which in men like Clive, Nicholson, Jacob, Malcolm, and Henry Lawrence won the affection and admiration of Hindus.

It is these characteristics, combined with the introduction of impartial jurisdiction and security of life and property, which, in the opinion of Monsieur Vambéry, have induced the natives of India, accustomed from time immemorial to foreign rule, to submit to reforms which even a modern Oriental reformer would hardly dare to introduce, and made the extension of our Asiatic Empire an infinitely more beneficial factor in the diffusion of Western culture in Eastern lands than the growth of that of Russia. It would be difficult to overestimate the value of the conclusions on this point arrived at after fifty years' study of Eastern questions by such a recognized authority, and Monsieur Vambéry's work has an especial interest for Englishmen from the fact that it has been written to refute the theory that their 'lack of flexibility and proud stiff bearing' renders them less fitted for civilizing Asiatics than the Russians, who are themselves semi-Asiatics, and at the same time to disprove the charges of unjustifiable partiality towards us frequently brought against him. The fairness and comprehensive character of his survey of the progress in Asia of the two rival 'culture bearers,' as he

terms them, can hardly fail to effect both these objects, and also to contribute materially to the realization of his hope that having now approached so closely to each other the two Powers will 'continue in peace and harmony their work for the good of mankind.'

Considered in this connexion the good work which Monsieur Vambéry shows that the Russians have done in Asia is well worthy of attention in this country, and it is interesting to recall the widely different conditions under which the two nations have been brought into contact with the Asiatic world, and infused into it that 'spirit of the West whose vibrations culminate either in evolution or in death.'

At the close of the seventh century the Russians occupied much the same position in a corner of their vast empire as the Anglo-Saxons originally did in England, and their expansion only began after a long struggle against the nomadic Turkish and Mongol hordes which occupied the entire country between the Crimean frontiers and the Danube. After their conversion to Christianity they became at a very early date the pioneers of the Christian world and the antagonists of Islam, and also the representatives, through their contact with Europe, of a civilization which, however rude, from the first compared advantageously with that of the barbarous races which they gradually absorbed or expelled. It was the resistance of Russia in the north-east which, in conjunction with that of Hungary and Poland in the south-east, alone saved Europe during the Middle Ages from the fury and fanaticism of the Tartar hordes and Turkish janissaries when at the height of their power; and her capture of Kazan and Astrakhan transformed the territories till then appropriated by warrior bands from Central Asia and Siberia into cultivated districts in the towns and villages of which trade and traffic were gradually established. Monsieur Vambéry has himself been an eye-witness of the beneficial results which have followed the continuation of this extension of Russian power in modern times. He has

seen the pacification of the Caucasus, 'where national fragments of various origins and creeds for hundreds of years lived in bloody strife,' and the construction of the Batoum-Baku railway through a portion of the robber dens of the semi-nomadic Turks of Transcaucasia, who formerly brought shiploads of boys and girls to be sold in the Constantinople slave-market for the harems of pashas and effendis. Peace and safety now reign in old strongholds of barbarism and fanaticism in Central Asia, the names of which when he first visited them aroused feelings of dread and horror. In places such as Merv and Herat, where the mere mention of the creed of the unbelieving foreigner aroused fanatical fury, the natives now respectfully salute the tourist, and are proud when they can pronounce a Russian word; and in Ashkabad there are boys' and girls' colleges, clubs, theatres, and a daily paper, in which European and American merchants advertise the latest productions of modern art and industry.

Though, however, Russia, starting from the north and encountering the most barbarous Asiatic tribes, has thus laid the foundations of civilization throughout her Eastern dominions by establishing law and order, the unreliability, arrogance, and corruption of her officials have—with a few brilliant exceptions, such as Governors-General Kaufmann and Rosenbach and General Ivanoff—hitherto largely frustrated the best intentions and most earnest efforts of the Government for educating and improving the condition of the people. The dishonesty of the authorities, which has become a by-word in the interior of Russian Europe, is far worse in the distant provinces, where they are largely uncontrolled, and where the natives are regarded as created for the sole purpose of being fleeced by them. Railways have been built solely for strategical purposes; while high roads and canals and irrigation, which are of vital importance to Eastern agriculture, have been neglected. Though the Ministry of Education has spared no expense the so-called national schools are attended by only a fraction of the native population, and educational estab-

lishments in general exist principally for the benefit of the Russian officials; and while nothing has been done to dispel the prejudices and superstitions of the natives, drunkenness and prostitution—vices unknown when Monsieur Vambéry first visited Central Asia, and the latter of which was formerly punishable with death—have assumed terrible dimensions. Russia, in short, has failed as a civilizer because, though she has produced a few brilliant personalities, her own culture is still only half European, and falls far short of that stage of perfection which would entitle it to be regarded as the representative of the true spirit of the Western world.

The Eastern Empire of Great Britain, on the other hand, is the result not of any premeditated scheme of conquest but of the establishment of the factories of the East India Company on the southern coast of India—the seat from time immemorial of pure Asiatic thought, the religions, philosophy, manners, customs, and arts of which had spread East and West long before the advent of the Mohammedan conquerors then in possession of it. The English had thus from the outset to deal with the most civilized portion of Asia, the political condition of which, and the racial and religious hatreds of its governing authorities, materially facilitated the acquisition of territory resulting from the series of wars forced upon the Company in defence of their trading interests by the anarchy following the collapse of the Mogul Empire and their struggles with their French rivals. All these acquisitions were secured by treaties recognizing the status and rights of the feudatories of the Mogul from whom they were obtained, and who thus merely transferred their allegiance to a new suzerain; and, though Lord Dalhousie's policy of annexation led to the infringement for a time both of treaties and of native rights and customs till then scrupulously respected, and thus largely contributed to the Mutiny, England may fairly claim to have striven from the first to govern India for the benefit of its inhabitants. The transformation of its political, administrative, and social condition began during the rule of the East India Company with the alleviation of

taxation, the admission of natives to the public service, and the suppression of suttis and thuggism under the governorship of Lord W. Cavendish Bentinck, and with the foundation of the Public Works Department and of the railway, postal, and telegraphic services, and the establishment of steam communication with Europe under Lord Dalhousie. It entered on a new phase when by the transfer of India to the Crown its inhabitants became British subjects. The Royal Proclamation of 1858—which secures the feudatory princes in the enjoyment of their rights and dignities, protects the native population from interference with their religious belief or worship, guarantees the maintenance of their rights in the land and other ancient rights and customs, and provides for their admission, when duly qualified, to the service of the Crown, and also for the execution of ‘works of public utility’—has been well termed by the author of one of the most notable works of that period the ‘Indian Magna Charta,’¹ and the present condition of India is an evidence of the faithful fulfilment of its pledges. The increase, to an extent incredible at the beginning of the last century, in the production of rice, corn, indigo, and pulse, and the steady growth of the trade in rice, wheat, textiles, cotton, and jute, have doubled the earnings of the peasant and raised the value of land to six times what it was at the beginning of the British occupation, and by increasing the export trade have given the farmer a degree of prosperity which he never knew before. Canals and irrigation works begun under native rulers have been restored and enormously extended at a cost, in 1880, of £20,500,000, while £227,696,464 have been expended on 26,777 miles of railway. Taxation, as was pointed out by Mr. Morley, is lighter than in many European countries. Between 1874 and 1902 the Indian Government has expended £16,000,000, exclusive of contributions from private charities, in combating with every means at its disposal the terrible famines to which India has from time immemorial been subject; and the number of hospitals and

¹ See *Thoughts on the Policy of the Crown towards India*, by J. M. Ludlow (published in 1859), p. 7.

dispensaries has risen from 1,800 in 1891 to 3,000 in 1901, those instituted by Lady Dufferin for women attended only by lady doctors, natives among them, having been especially beneficial. Millions have been expended on primary and secondary education, the amount under this head in 1903 being £2,561,000, and perhaps no better proof of its results can be adduced than the fact that the two senior wranglers of this year were Indian natives. Natives fill 3,700 state offices, and the courts of appeal and civil courts of justice are almost everywhere in their hands. They are also strongly represented in all civil offices, such as those of tax-collectors and overseers, and frequently occupy posts as solicitors, in municipal administration, in educational establishments, and in subordinate places in the provincial administration and in the Public Works Department, and all the subordinate officers in native regiments are natives. Lastly, not to multiply the evidences of Indian progress to an inordinate length, the number of newspapers rose from 576 in 1892 to 675 in 1900, and that of monthly and weekly periodicals from 330 to 465. The influence exercised on the public by these papers may be gathered from the fact that some of them, such as the *Bengal Gazette*, have as many as 20,000 subscribers.

Few more striking tributes have been paid to our work in India than the observation of Prince Bismarck, that 'if England were to lose all its intellectual heroes of the past, what it has done for India would be enough to render its name immortal'; but gratifying as this opinion, when supported by the evidences above adduced, is to our national vanity, it would be disastrous to the further progress of that work if we regarded it as completed. 'Hindus are not yet Englishmen,' says Monsieur Vambéry; 'between the two lies the deep gulf of a different conception of life many centuries old only just beginning to be bridged over by thin delicate threads of modern culture,'¹ and the correspondent of the *Times* has recently shown in the able

¹ *Western Culture in Eastern Lands*, p. 193.

and interesting letters under review that our educational system, combined with the introduction of representative institutions in India, has created new political forces antagonistic to our rule which will have to be reckoned with in the future.

The chief representative of these forces is the Indian National Congress, first opened in 1855—a quasi-parliament in which Hindus and Mohammedans discuss the interests of India and its administration, and criticize the laws, ordinances, and regulations of the Indian Government with a freedom little short of that displayed by the Opposition in its prototype at Westminster. The National Congress party controls almost the whole of the vernacular press and not a few English papers in India as well as a large number of native teachers and professors, and the vast majority of the liberal professions, more especially the large and influential body of barristers and pleaders. It has also adherents in 'almost all branches of the public service, and a still larger following amongst those who have failed to obtain Government employment—the chief aspiration of a large proportion of natives, who regard education merely as a means for gratifying it; and though the political equipment and modes of thought of the ablest of its leaders are the product of Western education, this party claims to represent the people of India—a collection of countless millions of peoples of different races, creeds, and languages, the vast majority of whom are still unaffected by and antagonistic to Western civilization, and whose horizon does not extend beyond the village in which they pass their lives. Its authorized programme includes objects with which those in sympathy with the aspirations of educated Indians must approve, and towards the attainment of which the Government is itself moving—increased representation of native opinion on the councils of Government, a larger share in the administration, and a more effective control of public expenditure; and most of the questions which have aroused its prejudices against the British connexion have little to do with Indian administra-

tion and do not lie within the jurisdiction of the Indian Government—such as the treatment of Indian immigrants in certain British colonies, the excise duties imposed on Indian industry for the selfish protection, as it is claimed, of Manchester, and the throwing upon India the whole burden of the increase in the pay of the British Garrison. The recent agitation with respect to the partition of Bengal has, however, shown the existence among the extreme members of the party of a growing spirit of revolt against British political ascendancy, with the manifestations of which many moderate men of high principle and undoubted loyalty in the congress have not the courage to dissociate themselves, and which finds expression in the columns of the native press and on public platforms in bitter criticisms on the Government, 'which can do nothing right'; gross exaggerations and misrepresentations of fact; denunciations of obnoxious officials as Neros and Caligulas; and rancorous attacks on individuals. It has also produced an underground propaganda, carried on among the masses by political agitators largely recruited from university failures, who exploit the prejudices, fears, and ignorance of the peasantry by reckless misrepresentation and downright falsehood—as, for instance, by the statements recently made in Eastern Bengal that 'partition' meant disturbance of the land settlement, the imposition of fresh taxes, and the wholesale deportation of the ryot to the Assam plantations. Lastly, it has, amongst the Bengalis, led to a strong reaction in favour of the more extreme forms of religious and social Hindu orthodoxy; and though it cannot be regarded as having inspired it, has been coincident with the initiation of the Swadeshi movement for the promotion and protection of Indian native industries, which, as the *Times* correspondent truly observes, is not only legitimate but commendable, but is, nevertheless, a form of 'protection' antagonistic to British trade.

Disagreeable and disquieting as the growth of these new antagonistic forces is, it is but the natural result, as has been pointed out by an Indian authority, Mr. Protap

Chunder Mozoonder, of the revolution created in a country where the common castes were rigidly excluded from the possession of higher knowledge by opening the doors of education to every comer; and also by the fact that the chief effect produced by European education upon the Mohammedan or Hindu is, according to a recognized expert on the subject, to destroy that reverence for authority which is the chief characteristic of all Indian teaching, and to introduce him 'into a world in which independent private judgement is a duty and the conscious exercise of it a virtue.'¹ The first result of this revolution in the national mode of thought was the social reform initiated some forty years ago which resulted in the foundation of the Brahmo-Soomaj and the Social Conference, and which, though the reformers may have looked forward to a time when Indians might claim a larger share in the government of their country, was unconcerned with politics and aimed at adjusting the domestic life, social institutions, and religion of India to Western standards. The latest has been the formation of the National Congress party, which has from the first made political reform its object, and, though it did not in its earlier days altogether exclude it from its programme, has now entirely dropped social reform.

It is, however, now too late to regret the effects of teaching the Hindu to think for himself. The present revolt against British political authority is, in the opinion of the *Times* correspondent, not against the supreme authority of the British Crown but against the form in which its supremacy is exercised; and it is fully realized by the ablest of the reformers that they must, if they aspire to taking a larger share in the national government, as was pointed out by one of the most eminent of their number, Mr. Justice Telang, 'be able to use properly any larger powers that may be conceded to them,' and that

¹ Dr. Morrison, late principal of Aleargh College.—*Times*, April 23, 1906.

the destruction of the British rule would mean the restoration of the anarchy that preceded its establishment. The Maharajah of Benares had the courage recently to exhort his countrymen 'to exhibit less of anti-foreign bias and more real desire to profit by the lessons which the industrial West has to teach,' and the best and widest field for the co-operation of both races is to be found in the development of commerce and industry, including India's greatest and oldest industry—agriculture. If, as suggested by the *Times* correspondent, the National Congress party will endeavour to induce the rising generation to equip themselves for the higher forms of trade and industry instead of for government employment and the overstocked professions, and to create an intelligent middle class competent to develop the vast commercial, industrial, and agricultural resources of India, they will, as he truly says, 'stand not merely for political doctrines in a large measure alien to India, but for great national interests rooted in India itself—interests which at this day can nowhere be denied their right to effective representation.'¹

URQUHART A. FORBES.

¹ *Times*, April 24, 1906.

Notes and Discussions

IS CHRISTIANITY THE ULTIMATE RELIGION?

ONE of the latest answers to this vital question has been given in a volume of lectures entitled *The Finality of the Christian Religion*, by Dr. G. Burman Foster, of the University of Chicago. And a notable sign of the times it is, if Prof. Foster's views are at all representative of religious thought among the more highly educated classes in America. If we follow the guidance of this leader—who is confident of his own power to declare what is and what is not tenable in this age of enlightenment—all 'authority-religion' is doomed and in process of being dissolved. Orthodox Christianity, with its belief in the Divinity of Christ, in miracles, and in revealed religion generally, is quite impossible as a creed for educated men in the twentieth century. The religion represented by the Apostles' Creed is 'already an antiquated affair, a relic that is worthless to the cultivated classes,' a mere 'sarcophagus of the personality of Jesus and His religion.'

The only question worth answering, according to Prof. Foster, is whether of this religion there be anything at all left, and how much of it may be understood to be permanent by men who hold the modern view of the world. According to him, little indeed. His answer, in a word, is that 'Jesus' is left. That one word might mean everything, but in Prof. Foster's view it does not mean the Christ, nor the Saviour, nor the Son of God, nor even the Son of Man, but only a son of man. Not the Jesus of the New Testament; not the Jesus of Paul, or of the Fourth Gospel, or even of the Synoptists. He never rose from the dead, worked no miracles, and spoke only a fraction of the words attributed to Him—how small a residue of these fell from His lips no one can affirm. We know hardly

anything of Jesus, though it is clear that He held superstitious and erroneous views concerning angels and spirits, death, judgement, and the future life. His ethical ideas were very noble, but many of them are now quite impracticable, especially to the modern man who is full of enthusiasm for the 'cultural.' To imitate Jesus 'would mean the downfall of modern culture.' Norms change like everything else. The Christian religion 'as a static entity' cannot abide, it is 'process, becoming'—no more. To attempt to fix its doctrines is to stifle and destroy it.

Does anything, then, remain of a religion not so much 'defecated to a transparency' as resolved into the shadow of a shade? Prof. Burman Foster says that Jesus remains—a personality, and in personalities reality ultimately rests. By His life He exhibited trust in a heavenly Father, and by His death 'He created faith in the eternal worth of martyrdom.' These ideas are of supreme practical value for life, but we do not know that they are true. Does the 'valuation of God in terms of Jesus prove the truth of such valuation? Perhaps so; perhaps not.' But we may hope that 'God is like Jesus' and that 'the disposition and bearing of the eternal will towards man are like those of the merciful, pleading Nazarene—this is the best that we dare to believe.' And this is all that can last, when Christianity is purged of all the many accretions and excrescences that have grown up around its pure and simple essence, when the false religions of authority, whether Catholic or Protestant, have been dissipated and the religion of the Spirit has come to its own. So far we have listened to the latest representative of the philosophy of the Christian religion.

Now one thing is certain. If Prof. Foster is right, Christianity may be called the ultimate religion, because in its grave is to be buried the best of all that the word 'religion' has hitherto signified amongst men. There is no fixed truth, no permanent trustworthy teaching, even of an ethical kind, in Christianity, just as there is no historical basis for Christian faith. A personality remains—dim, shadowy, uncertain, but august in its outlines, inspiring in its majestic simplicity. Whether God is or not, we cannot be sure; or if He is, whether He be like Herod, Caiaphas, or Nero, may be debated. But a man called Jesus—of whom a few fragmentary records have come down to us—once lived who believed in God as a Father, and though we may seek in vain from Him for direction as to modern

ethical and spiritual problems, still 'depth, concentration, and expansion of soul may be gained by brooding over the heroic days of the Master.' There is a passage in *Robert Elsmere* in which the hero, after having lost all the foundations of his religious belief, said of the Oxford tutor whom he admired and revered, 'Let Grey's trust answer for me.' To something like that, according to Dr. Burman Foster, is the Christian religion reduced. Jesus once believed; and we may hope, though we cannot know, that He was right and that God is like Jesus.

This brief note, giving to readers who have not seen it an inadequate idea of a very able and remarkable, as well as an exceedingly painful, book, would not have been worth writing if its author had stood by himself, as a solitary professor of an extremely destructive doctrine. But Dr. Foster's idea of Christianity represents a goal which more than a few educated men have reached and towards which a multitude—all unconsciously—are travelling. The writers most quoted with approval in this volume—Bousset, Wrede, Weinle, Wernle, and with some modifications Harnack—are widely influencing the educated world, not in Germany only, but in Britain and America. It is well that from time to time the mists which surround the teaching of many representatives of modern 'Christianity' should lift and a clear vision be obtained of the path they are pursuing and the country into which it leads. Rocks, wilderness, sandy waste, quaking bog, and treacherous morass, or—the Promised Land? There are so many Christianities and so many Christs. When the question is asked, Is Christianity the absolute, ultimate, all-sufficient religion adequate to the spiritual needs of all mankind for all generations? it can only be answered by asking another question, What is meant by Christianity? Those who think that Prof. Burman Foster's idea of the only permanent Christian religion is the ghost of an abstraction of his own and other brains, will have to be quite clear as to what kind of Christianity they themselves believe in as the ultimate religion, and why they so believe it, if they are to hold their own faith and spread it effectively amidst the spiritual conflicts of the next five-and-twenty years.

'GOD'S IMAGE IN MAN'

THE great rock against the waves of materialistic evolution is the intelligent and moral nature of man. It is entirely different from anything possessed by an ape, and as what ancestors do not possess descendants cannot inherit, it is here that the very *crux* of the evolutionary theory lies. Dr. Orr's book, which has just reached a second edition, powerfully sets forth man's spiritual nature. His first chapter shows the different views of man's origin now contending for mastery. *First*, the biblical, which traces man from above, and gives him a divine origin, character, and destiny. *Secondly*, the evolutionary, which derives man from a long series of ape-like ancestors and bestial semi-human beings. Between these two theories no real agreement is possible. The account of man's origin in Genesis i. cannot be harmonized with Haeckel. Dr. Orr gives his consent to the opinion that Genesis i. agrees with geology in the *outline* of creation, and in its closing with the creation of man. Of course there may be different theories of evolution, and it may be viewed as a method of creation by repeated acts, in which case, of course, it does not in any way militate against the older view of creation. In his second chapter Dr. Orr speaks of the Scripture account of man's creation, and at once proceeds to examine the meaning of the terms 'Image' and 'Likeness of God.' These are similar, and have no reference to man's body, but they signify his reason, conscience, and immortality, also his sovereignty over the lower animals. The *progressive* character of man's reason is strongly dwelt upon, and the remarkable fact is that while man *bodily* differs from the apes merely in *degree*, so far as his *mind* is concerned he is separated from them by an impassable gulf of infinite breadth. In opposition to this the monistic theory of Haeckel is brought forward, that mind is dependent on brain, but it is singularly forgotten that the brain is also constantly dependent on the mind.

Dr. Orr gives a long account of the Darwinian theory, but it must be carefully understood that there are other theories of evolution besides that of Darwin. Huxley said that the truth or falsity of evolution would be proved from geology, and it is to the facts revealed by palaeontology that—so far as the lower animals are concerned—the appeal in behalf of evolution must be taken. Dr. Orr notices that still the missing links

between man and the apes have not been found, although this is a question for mental and moral philosophy to decide, rather than for the verdict of the physical sciences. Man's place in Nature must be decided by his *works* and *influence*, and not by his bodily frame. Looked at in this light, no comparison whatever can be made between man and any of the lower animals. The *Pithecanthropus erectus*, which is based on the discovery of a skull-cap, thigh-bone, and teeth, of a so-called 'intermediate link' in Java in 1892, has broken down utterly. For these relics were not found *together*, and may have belonged to different individuals, while the skull-cap shows that its possessor had a brain as large as that of the present Australian natives. Scientific opinion on this matter is most hopelessly divided. As to the mental and moral differences between man and the apes, the evidence shows that while all the apes are linked together so far as their mental phenomena are concerned, an impassable gulf separates them from man. Let a single case be taken. The human hand in its bony arrangement *much resembles* that of an ape. But man's hand can execute the marvels of music, literature, painting, sculpture, and mechanism. Why cannot the hand of an ape perform these wonders? Because the nature which guides man's hand is *totally different* from that which guides the hand of the ape. The Australians are said to be the lowest of human beings, yet they have been taught to play chess, and have become skilful players. Why cannot an ape be taught chess? Because it possesses a *totally different* nature. Between man, therefore, and the apes (considering man in his *totality*) there is no connexion whatever. Dr. Orr well brings out the large development of many of the oldest skulls that geology has discovered, and it is of these ancient men that Prof. Virchow (of Berlin) said, that they had heads so large that many a modern man would be glad enough to possess them. This fact indicates the high intellectual character of the earliest men, and shows that as far as the intellectual character is concerned, primitive man truly possessed 'the Image of God.' Even also in these earliest men we clearly see a religious instinct, and a belief in the immortality of the soul. The defacement of God's image in man by sin, and its restoration through the incarnation of the Son of God and the redemption of mankind, are forcibly set forth. Dr. Orr writes as one devoted to science yet swayed by the firmest confidence in the Christian religion.

D. GATH WHITLEY.

HAECKEL AND THE TWELFTH COMMANDMENT

PROFESSOR CHWOLSON, of the University of St. Petersburg, has done splendid service by insisting upon the observance of what he calls the twelfth commandment, by all who offer any contribution towards the solution of the riddles of the universe. He formulates the new commandment in the words: 'Thou shalt not write about anything that thou dost not understand,' and he has no difficulty in showing that it has been transgressed alike by philosophers in their judgements on scientific questions and by scientists in their philosophic theorizings. Chwolson¹ condemns Hegel because, as a philosopher, he pronounced upon an issue which only facts brought to light by astronomical investigation could decide; he also exposes the worthlessness of H. Kossuth's recent philosophic criticisms of Haeckel's writings, owing to the lack of scientific knowledge which the critic's arguments reveal. But the greater part of Chwolson's vigorous polemic is directed against Haeckel; not, however, against his philosophy, nor against his biology, for the twelfth commandment must be strictly obeyed. It is on physics that Prof. Chwolson has a right to speak, and he subjects the physical theories which permeate Prof. Haeckel's writings to the most thorough and the most damaging criticism they have yet received.

As to Prof. Chwolson's pre-eminent qualifications for the task he has undertaken, it is enough to say that he is the author of the standard *Handbook of Physics*, described by Prof. Ostwald as the best modern text-book known to him. This great work is being translated into German; three volumes, averaging nearly a thousand pages each, have already appeared, and the fourth volume is in the press. It is impossible to evade the crushing force of the conclusion to which a specialist of such standing has come; his own words are: 'The task we set ourselves was to investigate Haeckel's attitude towards the twelfth commandment, to inquire whether he has honestly studied the

¹ *Hegel, Haeckel, Kossuth und das zwölfte Gebot. Eine kritische Studie* von O. D. Chwolson, Prof. Ord. an der kaiserlichen Universität zu St. Petersburg. Braunschweig: Vieweg und Sohn. 1906.

scientific questions which lie outside his own special domain, but upon which he writes; whether in relation to these questions he manifests the thoroughness and the intense earnestness which, in his own science, have made him one of the great leaders; or whether in contempt of the twelfth commandment he writes about things of which he has not the faintest conception (*keinen Schimmer einer Ahnung*). To accomplish this task we have carefully examined everything on physics that is to be found in *The Riddles of the Universe*. The material is abundant, for such questions play an important part in this work; it was indeed a physical "theory"—i.e. the law of substance—"which served the author as a 'safe-guiding star'" and led his philosophy "through the intricate labyrinth of the riddles of the universe to their solution." The result of our investigation is startling—one might well say hair-raising (*haarsträubend!*) Everything, yea, verily, everything that Haeckel, in his treatment of questions of physics, says, declares, and maintains, is false, being based on misunderstandings, or testifying to a scarcely credible ignorance of the most elementary subjects. Even of the law which he proclaims to be the "guiding-star," he does not possess the most elementary knowledge. Yet equipped with such complete ignorance, he thinks it possible to declare that the foundation of modern physics—the kinetic theory of substance—is "untenable," and to maintain that one of the greatest, perhaps the greatest achievement of the human intellect—the law of entropy or the second main principle of thermo-dynamics—"must be 'given up.'"

Chwolson examines in detail no less than twenty-one statements made by Haeckel concerning the law of substance; of this physical law which is made the basis of his philosophic system Haeckel is proved to have at best only a surface knowledge, whilst of the law of energy he has no conception. It is much to be desired that a verbatim translation into English should be published of the able work to which this note can only call attention. Chwolson shows that Haeckel is as misleading a guide in physics as others have shown that he is in philosophy and religion. The conclusions of specialists all point in the same direction and add force to the reasonable contention: 'It may be maintained with very great probability that the result of this inquiry also decides the question of the scientific significance and value of *The Riddles of the Universe*.' The argument is that Haeckel's violations of the twelfth com-

mandment, in his discussions of important questions in physics, shake our confidence in his dogmatic utterances on other subjects upon which he does not claim to have expert knowledge. The worthlessness of his statements about physics may well 'fix the true value of all that he says concerning historical, social, religious, philosophical—in a word, concerning all but purely biological questions.'

J. G. TASKER.

MISSIONARY METHODS, ANCIENT AND MODERN

DR. HARNACK'S *Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries* has been reviewed and its contents summarized in many places since its appearance. It may, however, still be useful to gather together some of the parallels or contrasts between the *missionary propaganda* of the primitive and the modern Church, and to ask, 'How does this study teach us to appraise present-day methods?'

In describing the manifold forms of evangelistic enterprise in the primitive Church, Professor Harnack warns us against the error 'of imagining that every one who came over to Christianity was won by the complete principles of a missionary propaganda. In countless instances it was but one ray of light that wrought the change.' This is true to-day. But it is also true, now as then, that, to touch the life of heathenism at many points, missionary methods must be multiplied and diverse. And there are cases where rays of varied colour, emanating from widely different spheres of missionary activity, gather to a focus in a single life. We could cite instances in which practically every agency and every class of agent employed by a mission—preaching, literature, schools, and social work; missionary, native pastor, teacher, and deaconess—have contributed each some share to one conversion. A study of Dr. Harnack's pages makes it clear how much Christianity owes its expansion to its democratic spirit. Origen, in his treatise against the critic Celsus, says, 'Plato and the other wise men of Greece, with their fine sayings, are like physicians who confine their attentions to the better classes and despise the common man, whilst the disciples of

Jesus carefully study to make provision for the great mass of men.' It is well to have the verdict of the first three centuries in favour of a missionary policy that carries its gospel of hope to the ignorant and despised, as well as to the educated and high-born.

Much might be written about the splendid chapters which describe *the mission preaching*. It is comforting to find that the 'crucial message of faith,' the proclamation of which gained such glorious victories in the early centuries, is in all essential respects the same as the gospel that is being preached in the towns and villages of Christless lands to-day—the gospel of salvation and of the Saviour, the religion of the Spirit and power, of moral earnestness and holiness. 'These four points,' we are told—'the one living God, Jesus as Saviour and Judge, the resurrection, and self-control, combined to form the new religion.'

Literature naturally could not bulk so largely in primitive as in modern missionary days. But there is evidence that it played an important part in the propaganda. Speaking of the well-known intercourse, personal and epistolary and literary, between the various churches, we are told, 'It is not easy to exaggerate the significance of this fact for the mission and propaganda of Christianity.' 'Celsus furnished himself with quite a considerable Christian library, in which he studied deeply before he wrote against the Christians.' 'The writings of Origen were read by the Neo-Platonist philosophers.'

Prominent among the missionary methods of to-day are *institutions founded to express the gospel of love and charity*. No mission organization is regarded as complete unless it possesses its hospital, orphanage, blind asylum, leper home, prison-gate brigade, rescue shelter, or some kindred institution. Here again we find the wisdom of a development, that is to-day assuming larger proportions, confirmed by the experience of the early Church. We note that the peculiar objects of Christian benevolence during the first three centuries were widows, orphans, the sick, infirm and disabled, prisoners, slaves, the unemployed, the poor in general and those visited by great calamities.

What help does this study afford us in fixing the place of *missionary teachers and schools*? While giving due honour to the primitive Apostles, and recognizing the important part played by their successors, the itinerant missionaries, during

the second century, Professor Harnack arrives at the following conclusion: 'The chief credit for the spread of Christianity is due to those who were *not* regular apostles, and also to the teachers.' These teachers were first laymen who possessed the gift of spiritual teaching. After the middle of the third century, not all, but nearly all, the teachers of the Church were clerics. In course of time 'the charismatic teaching also passed over into the profane.' This led to the establishment of schools within Christianity, and the development did not end even here. 'The early "teachers" of the Church were missionaries as well; pagans as well as catechumens entered their schools and listened to their teaching. We have definite information upon this point in the case of Justin (who had schools at Rome and Ephesus). Origen, too, had pagan hearers. It is not difficult to recognize the modern descendant of these 'teachers' in the educational missionary, lay and ministerial; and it is reassuring to note what a wide and deep influence this order of workers exerted in the mission of early Christianity.

Baptism, and the preparation of candidates for it, is a matter that is constantly under discussion on the mission field. Some would demand nothing more than a confession of faith in Christ before baptism. Others would set the standard high and require a fairly complete knowledge. It is, therefore, instructive to note that in those early ages, when the religion of Christ spread through the Roman world with such marvellous speed and power, the moral qualification of a candidate was that upon which the Church laid most emphasis. Doctrine was secondary. The power of the Church lay in the splendid and stringent moral code of her baptismal training.'

One of the most promising developments in the organization of Protestant missions is the increase of *women's work*—work for women by women. And once more our confidence is confirmed as we turn to the primitive Church. There is ample evidence that the gospel spread very rapidly among women. 'The later apocryphal Acts of the Apostles simply swarm with tales of how women of all ranks were converted in Rome and the provinces.' Dr. Harnack says, 'Ecclesiastical regulations for women were drawn up at an early period.' Again, 'Even after the middle of the second century women are still prominent, not only for their number and position as widows and deaconesses in the service of the Church, but also as prophetesses and teachers.'

EDWIN M. WEAVER.

Recent Literature

BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL

For Faith and Science. By F. H. Woods, B.D. (Longmans, Green & Co. 3s. 6d. net.)

AMONGST the many books on science and religion, none, so far as we remember, follows the very useful lines laid down by Mr. Woods. He asks first, What do I—'the well instructed Christian believer'—really believe? Then, why do I believe it? And lastly, What influence is science exercising upon that belief? In a popular book it is desirable to inquire into the bearing of scientific teaching upon the creed of the average man. Accordingly the author does not discuss the Apostles' or the Athanasian Creed, but the working beliefs of an intelligent Christian of to-day, whose views of the Bible and of Christianity have already been largely influenced by science. Mr. Woods is himself a higher critic, though of a moderate type, and he shows how much light has been shed on Scripture by recent criticism. But the chief value of his book lies in the careful inquiry he makes into the influence of the scientific spirit and the bearings of well-assured conclusions of science upon modern Christianity as thus interpreted. Miracle, prophecy, prayer, the problem of pain, sin, the doctrines of a personal God and of a divine Saviour, are successively passed in review. We can only summarize Mr. Woods' conclusions by briefly saying that he shows the value of the contribution made by science to religion in the best sense of the word and the useful pruning which traditional beliefs have undergone at the hand of science, whilst he points out its limitations, rebukes its dogmatism, and shows the importance to both sides of humility, readiness to learn, and a more complete mutual understanding on the part of religious and scientific men. In the view of some Mr. Woods will appear to have

conceded too much to the spirit of the age, but his frankness, candour, reverence, and general fairness are highly to be commended.

Biblia Hebraica. Edidit Rud. Kittel. Pars ii. (Lipsiae : J. C. Hinrichs. M. 4.)

In a recent number of this REVIEW we introduced to our readers the first part of this important critical edition of the text of the Old Testament. Its value is that in small compass it collects and arranges materials for which the student has now laboriously to search. Indeed, not more than one in a thousand could by searching obtain what is here succinctly presented. The footnotes which contain the information wear to the ordinary reader the appearance of darkly unintelligible hieroglyphics. But the initiated will find in a single line the result of long and learned research, and are enabled to discern in a moment the variations from the Massoretic text of all the authorities worth considering—Versions, chief MSS., the Targums, and the chief minute corrections and traditions of the scribes. The general editor, Dr. Kittel of Leipzig, has undertaken the books of Isaiah, Chronicles, Ruth, and Lamentations, Prof. Rothstein of Halle is responsible for Jeremiah and Ezekiel, and other scholars for other books. Amongst these we note only one English name, that of Dr. S. R. Driver, who has edited Ecclesiastes in this volume, in addition to Deuteronomy and Joshua in the first part.

The editors have for the most part confined themselves to the important work of collecting and selecting material. Only on occasion do they indicate their approval by adding to the reading of the Vatican codex of the LXX or some other authority, *probabiliter recte*. An example of this is found in that difficult verse, Psalm lxxvi. 10. We might have expected a similar note on Isaiah ix. 19 (21), where the reading 'of his brother' should surely be preferred to 'of his own arm.' But in the score or so of test-passages that we have looked up, the editors would seem to have been as judicious as they are learned. The text of Jeremiah, with the marked differences between Hebrew and Septuagint, presents some of the most difficult problems to the student, and here this critical edition is invaluable. So also with the Book of Job and the Psalms; in Psalm xlviii. 14, the variants upon which the revisers have based their marginal note upon 'our guide, even unto death,' are

given in a single line, and the student can form his own judgement upon them.

This edition is for the Hebrew scholar only, but for him it is indispensable. It supersedes a multitude of scattered items of critical apparatus, and it is sure to form the *vade mecum* of the student of Old Testament textual criticism. The Hebrew is so clearly printed, and the system of abbreviations so well planned and complete, that it is a pleasure to handle the volume.

The Genuineness and Authorship of the Pastoral Epistles.

By Rev. J. D. James, B.D. (Longmans. 3s. 6d. net.)

Students of the New Testament will welcome this classified statement of the arguments, external and internal, in favour of the Pauline authorship of the Pastoral Epistles. The arrangement is clear, the phrasing is concise and effective, and Mr. James shows on every page his independence of spirit and possession of sufficient scholarship. His study of the vocabulary of the Epistles, and of the personality and literary obligations of their writer, is particularly full and pleasing. Incidentally such questions of general interest are discussed as the origin and growth of the Christian ministry, the rise of various heresies, and the conception of the Church in apostolic times. The main defects are in the proof-reading, a little confusion in the use of inverted commas, and in the subject-matter a misunderstanding of the exact functions of the apostolic office. Apostles, *quâ* apostles, seem to have been pre-eminently witnesses to what they had seen; and whatever other duties they undertook did not appertain to them in virtue of their apostolic vocation. But any reader who judiciously mixes the teaching of Lindsay with those of Gore will easily see where our author's representations are affected by the coloured glass of his preconceptions. The book as a whole is strong and timely, and should help in the formation of a decided judgement on a problem that is complex and pressing.

Is Religion Undermined? By Rev. C. L. Drawbridge, M.A. (Longmans. 3s. 6d. net.)

The object of this book is not to show that popular sentiment is impregnated with respect for religion, whatever the prevalent attitude towards the Churches and their methods of

organized worship. That attractive theme is neglected by our author in favour of an attempt to restate the evidence for what he calls the foundations of religion. In a popular way, with much vigour and effectiveness, he deals with such theological problems as the seat of authority in religion and the legitimacy of faith. Then follow summaries of the theistic argument and of the proofs of the divinity of Christ, with vindications of Scripture in the light of modern knowledge, and of some of the central evangelical truths in that of actual experience. The book is well designed to do good. It makes no pretence to originality, but serves up the old doctrines tastefully with a plentiful garnishing of citation and example. The tone is confident and cheering. In one section the logical process of induction is confused with that of deduction; and once or twice the writer's churchly proclivities mislead him. The proof-reading must have been rather careless, or such solecisms as 'metamorphosised,' 'correspondencies,' and 'obita dicta,' would not have survived.

An Enquiry into the Evidential Value of Prophecy, being the Hulsean Prize Essay for 1904. By E. A. Edghill, M.A. (Macmillan & Co. 7s. 6d.)

In a short preface to this book Dr. Ryle welcomes it as a valuable addition to the literature of biblical theology, and speaks of its writer as a devout student with a complete mastery of his materials. Mr. Edghill is a curate in a busy town parish; but amidst the distractions of such work he has managed to equip himself with an adequate degree of knowledge, and to produce a book likely to be of distinct service to ministers and educated laymen. The earlier parts examine the fundamental ideas of prophecy, and trace through the Old Testament the expanding conceptions of the Kingdom, the Covenant, and the Church, with the related figures of the King, the Prophet, and the Priest. A separate section, well planned and of sufficient range, is given to the history of the term and to the functions of the Messiah. Thence the writer passes naturally into the New Testament, and discusses the use of prophecy by the different writers and by Christ Himself. All this leads to the final and most important section, in which the evidential value of prophecy is set forth. It is shown to be an irrefutable witness to the divine origin, power, and plan of

Christianity, and to point forwards to still more blessed fulfilments until the goal of 1 Cor. xv. 28 is reached.

Such innumerable details are involved in an exegetical study of this proportion that agreement in regard to them all is not at present to be expected. But Mr. Edghill's methods are right, and his pages afford abundant evidence of his acquaintance, especially with recent investigations into the meaning of the sacred text. He is not always convincing, nor is he at any time overbearing or dogmatic. And if some links in the chain of argument as left by him need a little reshaping, the chain itself is stoutly forged. An admirable analysis of the contents begins the volume, which closes with ample indexes of subjects and scriptural passages. A bibliography is given, which is select rather than complete. There are two or three useful tables of quotations made by Christ, and of references to the Prophets and Psalms that are common to the Synoptists. Altogether the book is a scholarly piece of work that needed to be done, and it will help in promoting the advance of apologetics.

Theology and Truth. By Newton H. Marshall, M.A., Ph.D. (James Clarke & Co. 5s.)

The mention of epistemology will seem at once to place us in the realm of technicalities; but even the average reader will find an all-important question made clear by Dr. Marshall's book. The theologian is introduced to the fundamental problem of his science: What is the criterion of truth in religious knowledge? As Lord Bacon reminds us, 'It is a pleasure to stand upon the shore, and see ships tost upon the sea; a pleasure to stand in the window of a castle and to see the battle, and the adventures thereof below; but no pleasure is comparable to the standing upon the vantage ground of truth (a hill not to be commanded, and where the air is always clear and serene), and to see the errors and wanderings and mists and tempests in the vale below.' To secure that vantage ground of settled conviction on the question of what is the basis of truth, Dr. Marshall examines representative types of epistemological doctrine—the naturalistic, the objective idealistic, and free-will idealistic. He appears to favour a distinctly intuitional criterion of religious truth as contrasted with the descriptive consistency of science, as is illustrated in Martineau

and Dr. Campbell Fraser. The whole range of theories is carefully mapped out and related. He desires a specific 'discipline' of pistiology, to deal with the sphere of religious conviction. The book is strictly logical and free from superfluous literary decoration; but the interest is held from first to last by intense earnestness, keen intellectual power, and shrewd humour. The writer fairly takes our breath away at the rapidity of his transition to the implication of the article of faith, 'God is Love,' after the subtilty of epistemology, and it is difficult to find a rational halting-place short of mysticism. We may doubt the final character of his solution of the problems of modern inquiry and religious thought; but the treatment is reverent and sympathetic, and gives emphasis to the essential quality of faith.

Synthetica. By S. S. Laurie, LL.D. Two volumes. (Longmans & Co. 21s. net.)

Dr. Laurie is well known by previous works on metaphysics and ethics, which he has characteristically styled by Latin names, and in which he certainly did not seek to conciliate popular taste. The present work consists of 'Meditations, Epistemological and Ontological,' couched in highly technical language, some of it peculiar to the author, such as 'attui-tional subject,' 'be-ent phenomenon,' 'presentates reason-percipient,' 'diverse unitary quanta, reflected into continuity,' and similar phrases.

A successful student of these 'meditations' must surely be numbered amongst those metaphysicians to whom alone, according to Prof. M'Taggart, belongs the kingdom of heaven.

We regret that Dr. Laurie cumbers his pages with so much technical phraseology, since he is a teacher of ability and has much to say that is well worth studying. The second of these volumes is by far the more interesting and important of the two. They contain the substance of the Edinburgh Gifford Lectures of 1905-6, and in dealing with the great themes of God and Man, Good and Evil, Death and Immortality, the lecturer has given us of his best. Some chapters in the latter part of the book show how much more truly philosophical a writer becomes when he discards barbarously technical terms of his own composing.

Hebrew Religion to the Establishment of Judaism under Ezra. By W. E. Addis, M.A. (Williams & Norgate. 5s. net.)

This latest addition to the 'Crown Library' contains, the author tells us, 'a clear statement of fact on the history of Hebrew religion down to the middle of the fifth century B.C.' Here 'fact' must be understood to mean opinion as held by the prevailing school of Old Testament criticism. In the chapters on Primitive Semitic Religion, Early Worship of Jehovah, Settled Life in Canaan, The Literary Prophets and the Transition to Legal Religion, the author takes for granted that the reconstruction of Hebrew history as it has been carried out in modern critical theories is justified. The promulgation of Deuteronomy under Josiah, the reforms of Ezekiel, and the compilation of the priestly code are all described from this point of view. A survey of Hebrew religion is thus provided—rapid and slight, but clear and well arranged—which will serve those who desire to have before them in small compass the conclusions which a majority of modern critics have reached on the history of religion recorded in the Old Testament. Whether the last word has been said on what Mr. Addis calls the 'facts' is quite another question. But he furnishes in a succinct and readable form the interpretation of the documents which commends itself to the great majority of scholars to-day.

The Eye for Spiritual Things. By Prof. H. M. Gwatkin, D.D. (T. & T. Clark. 4s. 6d. net.)

This is a book with a burthen—a spiritual message based on the authority of reason, but loyal withal to Christ, the Son of God. The attitude of the discourses is broadly evangelical. Some of them touch phases of perplexed thought, but too briefly to be impressive. Ten minutes each to 'Eternal Punishment,' 'Job's Problem,' 'Salvation,' 'Christ as God,' scarcely suggest sufficient opportunity for illumination on these important topics. But even the exigencies of brevity will not excuse to some readers such unsatisfactory statements as these: 'From one end of the New Testament to the other, you will find no hint that God requires any sort of satisfaction for the past.' 'Just because

predestination is a great mystery, it throws a flood of light on the lesser mysteries around it. Job's problem is a case of predestination.' 'Esau was a sinner, if you please; but he was not rejected because of his sin, because he was rejected before he was born.' 'Do not trouble yourself to get assurance of your forgiveness.' Fresh and apt sentences abound in the book: 'Revelation always comes in change; and change itself is revelation, if we have eyes to see it.' From so distinguished an authority in ecclesiastical history as Prof. Gwatkin, illustrations from his special subject are natural; and here they are frequent and illuminating. History is emphasized as a part of the philosophy of morals and religion. 'History must somehow mirror the eternal.' 'Historic truth is in its nature infinite.' 'Every great revolution has brought its own great revelation with it.' From such a preacher the note of marked antipathy to Rome in the volume is significant. 'Is it because there is not a God in England that we inquire so timidly at Rome?' 'On the final question of all—whether we have a real knowledge, a direct and personal knowledge of God in Christ, Rome and the agnostic are in full agreement.' The historian in the pulpit has a value and attraction, as this interesting and thoughtful volume shows.

The Philosophy of Religion. By Dr. Harold Höffding.
Translated from the German Edition by B. E. Meyer.
(Macmillan. 12s. net.)

Despite the great number of philosophies of religion already in the field, Prof. Höffding's work is a welcome addition. The author is fitted for his task not only by his easy mastery of the field of general philosophy, but by his admirably clear and forceful style, and by his favourable attitude to religious phenomena. His sparing use of metaphor really illuminates, instead of obscuring, the matter in hand. If, despite all the expositor's effort, the treatment remains abstract, this is due to the nature of the subject.

The subject is treated under three heads, in relation to epistemology, psychology, and ethics. The first part discusses questions of cause and effect, space and time, the relation of thought and figure in religious terminology. However inevitable the employment of figurative language, there must be a point at which figure stops and reality comes into view. Here as elsewhere Vedantism, neo-Platonism, and

mysticism supply much illustration. The author is fond of tracing the affinities between Christian and non-Christian speculation. The chief portion of the work is taken up by the second subject. After considering the development of religious ideas, the author enters on a fairly exhaustive exposition of religion from the standpoint of the conservation of value and of the principle of personality. Both questions are acutely argued. The first is a favourite phrase of our days. But the more we consider it the more we feel its subjective character. The author has no sooner begun the discussion than he says that value depends on individual temperament. The Greenlander's idea of value differs considerably from that of Greek or Hindu. In the chapter on personality we have an interesting comparison and contrast between Buddha and Jesus. Personality supplies the objective element which conservation of value lacks.

The author exhibits surprising familiarity with the facts of religious history. Several startling comparisons are made. Jacob Boehme and Pascal are classed together as 'great minds.' Gottfried Arnold, St. Teresa, Swedenborg, Butler, Kierkegaard, are often referred to, Arnold's *Theologia Experimentalis* being described as 'that remarkable work.' Even Bunyan is mentioned. The Buddhist Nirvana is said not to be extinction, but a state of perfect rest. 'Thrash out' occurs twice as a misprint on p. 370.

The Gospel in the Gospels. By W. P. Du Bose, D.D.
(Longmans. 5s. net.)

What is the gospel and where is it to be found? Dr. Du Bose, a Professor in the American 'University of the South,' answers the question by saying that there are variant conceptions of the gospel in the New Testament, which are not different gospels, but mutually complete aspects of the one eternal gospel. His aim in this volume is to present some of these aspects as found in the writings of the four evangelists. He selects three—the gospel of the earthly life of Jesus, or His common humanity; the gospel of His work, or the Resurrection; and the gospel of the person of Christ, or the Incarnation. Whereas some are disposed to receive the first, or the first two, only of these gospels, he holds that all three are consistent and necessary to one another. In a series of interesting chapters he unfolds this theme, and in days

when the question, 'What is Christianity?' is so variously answered, Dr. Du Bose's treatment of the subject may be found helpful by some minds. But on crucial points, such as the Virgin Birth and the Resurrection of Christ, he is vague and elusive; and his presentation of a higher spiritual gospel, the essential feature of which is the reconciliation, or bringing into spiritual unity, of man with God in a mystical Incarnation, will not satisfy either those who take humanitarian views of Christ on the one hand, or those who accept the teaching of the New Testament in its simplicity and completeness on the other. The author himself realizes that there is 'a vagueness and unsatisfactoriness in the conclusion' to which he comes in his study of the Death of Jesus. We should apply these words to the whole book, whilst recognizing its reverent and Christian spirit and the suggestiveness of its treatment of some of the great themes handled in its pages.

The Communion of the Christian with God. By W. Herrmann, D.D. Second Edition. Revised Translation. (Williams & Norgate. 5s.)

A cheap edition of a work that has already had a large circulation in English, with changes of arrangement which bring it into conformity with the latest form of the original. Prof. Herrmann is well known as a leading representative of Ritschl's teaching. In him the spirit and method of the master are faithfully reflected. It must be confessed also that he inherits a large share of the master's obscurity of style. The work is perhaps the best for giving a practical idea of the Ritschlian position, its vagueness in some respects, its definiteness in others. Some points evoke sympathy, as when it is said that we begin with the human in Christ and rise to the divine. The stress laid on personal experience of the divine in Christ is also admirable. On the other hand, the disregard of Christ's deity as an independent doctrine estranges us. The rejection or omission of other important doctrines also awakens apprehension. Still, the emphasis laid on Jesus Christ and on communion with God in Him counts for much. The Ritschlian school, as represented by Herrmann, takes refuge under the great name of Luther, appropriating the free, ethical elements of his work, while ignoring much which he held to be essential in Christianity. It is difficult to say whether the present work evokes more agreement or dissent in an evangelical reader.

'We know that in Christ we meet with God, and we know what sort of a meeting this is; we know that this God gives us comfort and courage to face the world, joy in facing the demands of duty, and with all this eternal life in our hearts.'

Human Nature a Revelation of the Divine. By Charles H. Robinson, M.A., Hon. Canon of Ripon. (Longmans & Co. 3s. 6d. net.)

This volume is far from homogeneous, and the title does not accurately indicate its contents. The introduction is a general defence of the critical view of the Old Testament, and refers specially to the difficulty in teaching the Old Testament in schools. This raises the expectation that the author is going to suggest methods of dealing with the difficulty, an expectation which is not met. The next section sketches and endorses the principal charges made by criticism, and maintains that the divine origin or inspiration of Scripture is not affected by critical results. The argument in favour of inspiration is based on the position that the Old Testament religion, beginning at the same low level as other religions, works out to such different results. The difference is seen in four respects—in monotheistic faith, God's moral character, the making of man in God's image, and a continuous purpose in history. The thesis contained in the title is the third of these points. The next section of the work, 'Studies in Worship,' has little connexion with the subject of the first section. It is an exposition of the General Exhortation in the Morning and Evening Service in the Prayer Book—especially dwelling on confession, thanksgiving, praise, petition.

Limitations, Divine and Human. By W. F. Slater, M.A. (London: C. H. Kelly. 3s. 6d.)

These nine essays are not, so Mr. Slater writes in the preface, a selection of old sermons; but they are none the less homiletical in both form and treatment. The author rightly deprecates any criticism of his work as a serious attempt at the reconstruction of theological truth. He really puts together in an easy and discursive way a variety of thoughts concerning matters that are the property of the pulpit; and his pages, if loosely knit, appeal to different tastes, and are calculated to deepen interest in several phases of religious practice. An

apparent unity is given to the whole by the introduction of the same word into the title of each chapter. They deal in turn professedly with limitations in God and in man, in traditional faith and righteousness, in omniscience and conscience, in revelation and personal endowment and experience. But the preacher does not allow himself to be unnecessarily bound by his subject. Limitations in conscience, for instance, are discussed in a paragraph or two, but the main body of the sermon is a sketch of the history of thought from Pythagoras to Kant, with hortatory and edifying additions. So with the discourse on limitations in revelation, it is mainly a running comment upon parts of the nineteenth Psalm. Occasionally the reader will be unconvinced, especially in the case of a theory of atonement that cannot be made to work. It reduces the sacrifice of Christ to an example and possibly also an inspiration, the act of Christ being treated as an exhibition of some law of the universe which admits of the forgiveness of sinners, and as an act needing to be 'adopted and re-enacted by us.' The radical defect of the theory, as thus summarily put, is that it understates the union of Christ with the men for whom He died; and more emphasis might have been laid with advantage upon the real vicariousness of the sacrifice. But here, again, the character of the book does not provide opportunity either for the systematic statement of the writer's views or for their accurate and full discussion.

Special Difficulties in the Bible and Prayer-Book, with Helps to their Solution. By H. M. Luckock, D.D., Dean of Lichfield. (Longmans, Green, & Co. 6s.)

Dr. Luckock's standpoint is that of a devout High Churchman. The difficulties he deals with involve either natural perplexity in the interpretation of Scripture, or perplexity that is created in the attempt to base upon it sacramental theories of an advanced type. Instances of the former are the suggestions that the benediction of Jael was pronounced by the women of Israel in gratitude for their deliverance, and that the imprecations in certain psalms must be taken as the language of God's enemies. 'Cold or hot' in the message to the Laodicean church is resolved into calm resolve or burning devotion. On the whole, the suggestions are helpful, and good use might be made of most of them in the pulpit or class-room. Half-a-dozen papers set forth the rationale of the sacramental system,

with allied matters, and are not convincing. Relief for troubled consciences is exhibited in three papers on the Athanasian Creed and the Communion Service, whilst it is disappointing to find that stumblers at the Decalogue are advised to apply 'the doctrine of intention.' In the closing chapters the Dean recurs to one of his favourite subjects, and adds his maturer reflections on the life of the faithful in the intermediate state and beyond. It is an interesting book, though a fuller discussion of a smaller number of difficulties would have been more satisfactory.

The Interlinear Bible will quickly establish its right to a place at the side of every Bible student. It is now possible to see at a glance where the Authorized and Revised Versions differ. Large type is used where the versions agree. The variations are printed in smaller type, the Revised above and the Authorized below. The marginal notes of both versions are given at the foot of the page and the references issued in 1898 with the Revised Version are in the central column. It makes a splendid volume with bold and clear type, and, by the use of India paper, it is kept light and easy to hold. The price is twelve shillings and sixpence net in cloth, a guinea net in french morocco, yapp or morocco, limp. This is certainly the most convenient edition of the Bible that any preacher or teacher can possess. Our only wonder is that we have had to wait so long for so great a treasure. It has the American Committee's readings and renderings and the valuable Indexed Atlas with its fine set of maps.

In Quest of Light. By Goldwin Smith. (Macmillan & Co. 4s. net.)

This is a set of letters or papers contributed, during the last ten years, to the *New York Sun*. Prof. Goldwin Smith was moved by the gravity of the crisis to discuss some of the difficulties of belief. He attempts to define the position, drawing the line between what must be abandoned and that which is left, and especially pleading for perfect freedom of inquiry on behalf of the clergy. The letters may help some whose faith has been shaken by rationalistic criticism to find a foothold, though we wish the writer had himself been able to take a firmer stand against rationalistic views. He concedes so much to unbelief, and gives such undue weight to some of

its inferences, that we find the letters painful reading. He insists, however, on the 'testimony of conscience, that as we do well or ill in this life it will be well or ill for us in the end.' The 'voice of conscience has not yet been explained away.' He also lays emphasis on the fact that 'the preaching of the Founder of Christendom, who taught the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, undeniably was the great awakening of spiritual life in the world.' That is one solid fact on which the argument for the divine origin of Christianity may be based, and it is only one out of a great series. Despite the claims of evolution Prof. Smith 'craves a full examination of all real phenomena. Physical science itself is still advancing, and there may be Darwins after Darwin.'

The Ethics of Evangelicalism. The Hartley Lecture for 1906. (London: Charles H. Kelly. 2s. 6d.)

The Churches have been waiting for the emphasis of a fuller evangel, therefore the subject of this lecture was inevitable. Evangelicalism is a richer term than evangelism, and the aim of Mr. Yooll's volume is to rescue the preaching of the gospel from its once-while narrowness and to assert the wider domain of religious experience viewed from the standpoint of Christian ethics. And herein lies its timeliness. By Ethics Mr. Yooll understands 'the science which interprets morality,' and by Evangelicalism the doctrines of the Divine Fatherhood, the Incarnation, the Atonement, and the union of believers with Christ. Its range includes the ministry of the Holy Spirit and the Social Conscience. Such an extensive subject must suffer by the limitations of a volume of 250 pages; e.g. the ethics of future destiny cannot be discussed adequately in a dozen pages. Mr. Yooll has to be content to make the most of his limitations. He writes designedly for the uninitiated, and he deserves their gratitude, but he will gain a much wider audience. Perhaps the ablest chapter in his book is that on Ethical Idealism, while the least satisfactory is that on the Atoning Cross of Christ. The book is racily written, but the language is sometimes too unrestrained. Some greater uniformity ought to have been observed in the matter of official designations, disregard of which is a marked defect of the book. Certain corrections are also necessary—p. 3, Bonnie Briar Bush; p. 14, *Restraint and Culture*; p. 39, Dr. Lyman Abbot; pp. 75 and 134, Dr. Denny; p. 180, Galatians; &c.

These revisions would add to the pleasurable-ness of a really stimulating lecture.

The Quest of Faith. By THOS. F. LOCKYER, B.A. (F. Griffiths. 2s. net.)

Here are fourteen devotional studies, all beautifully illustrating some phase in the quest of the soul for the satisfactions of God. They are graceful and gracious in style, stimulating in thought, and instinct with religious power. Few men can write more sweetly of the ways of God than Mr. Lockyer, or more sympathetically of the stress and pain of human life. Each of these brief papers, if slowly and lovingly read, will be found full of medicine for the soul's ills, wholesome and reassuring.

The Tabernacle: its History and Structure. By the Rev. W. Shaw Caldecott. Second edition. (R.T.S. 5s.)

This notable book, which contains a satisfactory determination of the length of a cubit in the Old Testament, and comprises a preface by Prof. Sayce, was dealt with in an article in the LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW of April 1905. It has now reached a second edition. The illustrations have been more conveniently arranged, but the principal alteration is a paragraph on pp. 13-14, which contests the idea that the Israelites travelled to Gilgal by way of the Red Sea. In Num. xxi. 4, Mr. Caldecott reads 'Salt Sea' instead of 'Red Sea.' He thinks the current reading was a copyist's error.

A Mission of the Spirit (Wells Gardner, Darton & Co., 1s.) gives the sermons, addresses, and answers to questions in the Bishop of London's Lenten Mission in 1906. A great love of souls glows in these homely, practical, and convincing words. It is a little book that will stimulate workers of all Churches to make full proof of their ministry. Both preachers and laymen will learn much from these pages.

The Mission of the Holy Ghost. By the Rev. G. H. S. Walpole. (Longmans & Co. 2s. net.)

The Rector of Lambeth delivered these four lectures to the St. Paul's Lecture Society last autumn. The first, on 'the

Mission of the Holy Ghost,' shows that he is not only 'a Giver of life, but an Interpreter of life.' He takes the thought of the Father as expressed in the Son and gives it 'life.' 'In Nature, in man, in the Church, He makes progressive advances towards the perfected kingdom of Christ.' Into these three realms Dr. Walpole leads us in the remaining lectures. The treatment is distinctly fresh and suggestive. The book is the work of a devout Churchman, and though they will not agree with every statement, Christian men of all communions will prize it and profit by it.

Theological Essays of Benjamin Jowett. Selected, arranged, and edited by Lewis Campbell. (Frowde. 2s. 6d. net.)

These essays are taken from Jowett's edition of St. Paul's Epistles, two of them being slightly abridged. Mr. Campbell contributes an interesting introduction. There are many fine and true things in the volume, though it needs to be read with much caution, and Dr. Rigg's paper in *Modern Anglican Theology* might be read with great advantage.

The Young Christian, by Henry B. Roller (Kelly, 1s.) is 'a guide for seekers and new converts' which will be prized by many. It will help young people to study their Bibles and to set their faces against doubtful amusements.

'*What is Truth?*' by a Woman (Rangecroft & Co., 2s. net), is a wild attempt to convict St. Paul of the sin of bringing in another gospel which was not the gospel of Christ. The book is full of absurdities, and actually reaches the conclusion that the Old Testament is better than the New. We are astonished that such a volume should ever have got into print.

The Sabbath and the Lord's Day, by Edward Walter Haines (Houghton & Co.), contains some good remarks on the Sabbath as a divine institution, whose benefits were intended for all mankind. The evidence for the religious observance of the Lord's day in the times of the Apostles and later is also clearly stated. But the author's exposition of passages in the Prophets, as referring to Christ's premillennial reign on earth, is not convincing.

BIOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL

Persecution in the Early Church. A Chapter in the History of Renunciation. By H. B. Workman, M.A. (C. H. Kelly. 3s. 6d.)

THE early persecutions from one of the chapters of early Church history on which modern research has thrown a flood of light. Definite knowledge is taking the place of conjecture and exaggeration. Mr. Workman's scholarly volume sums up the results of recent investigations. Much still remains obscure, but the horizon of historical certainty is clearer and wider than it was. Even the number of the martyrs may still be uncertain; but we know that it was neither as great nor as small as has been represented by opposing schools. We could form a better estimate of the number of martyrs if we knew more of the number of Christians in the early centuries. 'No statistics of Christianity are available; for that matter we are ignorant of the population of the Empire itself.' A special appendix deals with this question. The most original and most interesting chapters are the second and third, which deal with the general and particular causes of the hostility of the Empire to Christianity. It would be hard to find anywhere a fuller and more luminous exposition of a puzzling problem. The causes are seen to lie partly in the constitution of the Empire, and partly in the nature and objects of the Christian Church. We see at once that the mutual hostility was inevitable; we say 'mutual,' for the hostility of the Church to the imperial system was none the less real that it was implicit rather than declared. The surprising fact that some of the best emperors were among the worst persecutors is well explained. What is said on the policy of Marcus Aurelius is much to the point. The severity of persecution was by no means continuous or uniform. There was ebb and flow according to circumstances. The chapter on 'The Great Persecutions' illustrates this aspect of the subject very fully. There was nothing like systematic and determined persecution till the day of Decius and Diocletian. And then the hold of the new faith was too strong to be shaken.

Of the way in which the subject is treated there is nothing but good to be said. Despite the author's dictum that 'accuracy in figures is but a modern foible,' not the least meritorious feature of the work is its love of this foible. The author rightly sets aside many statements of martyrologists as 'written for edification.' He does his best to hold the scales even between the too-much and too-little. A striking feature of the volume is the wealth of information and proof stored in the notes. We can readily understand the statement that the notes represent months of toil. We have marked at least twenty-five long notes, the value of which would have been better appreciated if they had been placed together at the end. The nine Appendices, too, carefully discuss relevant questions of importance. The bibliography, the table of contents prefixed to each chapter, the references to authorities, the chronological table, all add to the value of the work, as they evidence the author's mastery of the subject and desire to be just. His use of modern parallels is always apt. Anarchists, nihilists, passive resisters have their early analogues. There is also a brief description of the catacombs. The author avoids the temptation to tone down the moral decay that advanced with swift strides in the Empire. It may be true, as Dill shows in his able volumes, that the Western Empire fell chiefly through growing financial rottenness; but this was only one of many forms which the moral decline took, as Dill himself shows. If the Empire could have been saved by consummate statesmanship, it would have been saved by emperors like Trajan, Hadrian, Decius and Diocletian.

Wayside Sketches in Ecclesiastical History. By Charles Bigg, D.D. (Longmans. 7s. 6d. net.)

It is the fashion to disparage the historical study that centres round great names and outstanding personalities; but none can deny the picturesque human interest with which that method invests the movements and events of the past. Hence Dr. Bigg is well advised in choosing for these bright, well informed, and sound studies in ecclesiastical development certain striking types. Prudentius, Paulinus of Nola, and Sidonius Apollinaris belong to premediaeval Christianity; Grosseteste, Wyclif, and à Kempis—the other triad dealt with in this volume—belong to mediaevalism; and finally we have

three lectures on the English Reformation, which carry us a stage further in the evolution of Christianity in our own country.

Dr. Bigg, as his recent work, *The Church's Task in the Roman Empire*, proves, is a masterly exponent of the fascinating period—the fourth and early fifth centuries—when Christianity had become the imperial religion, and when the very existence of the Empire was threatened by the northern invasions. He lucidly brings out the aspects of Christianity which appealed to a poet like Prudentius, still enamoured of his classical models but with all a Spaniard's feeling for the colour and beauty of Christian worship, ritual, and art; perhaps Dr. Bigg makes too much of the revolting details of the martyr-poems the 'Peristephanon.' It is only in rare cases that Roman literature obeys the canons of civilized reticence. Probably Prudentius rather gloried in his realism and could not see—as we see to-day—how unimpressive it is.

A most valuable study is that of Paulinus of Nola—a little-known and somewhat misunderstood personality. Glover calls him rather unkindly a 'dull, wordy, worthy creature'; Boissier echoes the charge of verbosity: *ce fut toujours le défaut du bon Paulin, dans sa prose et ses vers, d'être éternel*. Both Boissier and Dr. Bigg, however, indicate many other claims to an interest and even reverence in the gentle saint of Nola. Dr. Bigg speaks of Henry Vaughan the Silurist as his spiritual brother; but curiously enough fails to illustrate the affinity by mentioning that in his *Flores Solitudinis* Vaughan wrote a charming sympathetic little life of Paulinus. The homeliness, credulity, and simplicity of Paulinus form an interesting psychological study, while his poems and letters are valuable and vivid pictures of the Christian society of his age. Perhaps Dr. Bigg is at his best in his two lectures on Paulinus and à Kempis; in these his sympathy with mysticism bewrayeth itself. The whole book is worthy of his literary and historical powers.

The Garter Mission to Japan. By Lord Redesdale, G.C.V.O., K.C.B. (Macmillan & Co. 6s.)

Lord Redesdale was a member of the mission which carried the Order of the Garter to the Emperor of Japan last January. The mission arrived in February, notoriously the worst month for weather of the whole Japanese year. A month later all

the land would have been rich with flowering trees and shrubs. The wintry weather was the one crumpled rose-leaf. In every other respect the visit was an enormous success. The streets were crowded, children standing in the front row each with a pair of little flags, Japanese and English, which they waved with enthusiasm as Prince Arthur of Connaught and his companions passed. Lord Redesdale always thought the boys at Eton could cheer, but that was as the cheering of grasshoppers beside the 'Banzai' of an enthusiastic Japanese crowd. The Emperor himself met the mission at the railway-station, and lavished attentions on visitors whom he and his people regarded as friends. The admirable modesty of such champions as General Kuroki and Admiral Togo, and indeed of the whole nation, was striking. 'I never once heard anything approaching to a boast over the brilliant successes of the late war. The absence of all bragging, the calm, dispassionate talk about the circumstances which led to it, about the war itself, and about its consequences, far-reaching as they may be, are a striking feature in the character of the New Japan, and one which stands out as an example to the whole world.' To Lord Redesdale, who had visited Japan in 1868, in the old days of mystery and seclusion, the change in all things was a constant source of amazement. General Sir Thomas Kelly-Kenny was a member of the mission, and when the Emperor talked to him about improving the breed of horses, which are too small, he replied, 'It is not always the big horses and the big men that do the best work.' The Emperor caught the allusion at once, and chuckled with pleasure at the joke. Altogether the record is delightful. Lord Redesdale says that forty years ago he was looking with a Japanese gentleman at a map of the world on Mercator's projection. Pointing to England in the west and Japan in the east, his friend said, 'Look at those island kingdoms! are they not like the two eyes in a face? If they could only see together!' The man who uttered that wish has been dead many years, but the hope has been wonderfully realized, and is destined to have growing influence on the history of the world.

Dr. Liddon. By G. W. E. Russell. *Bishop Westcott.* By Joseph Clayton. (Mowbray. 3s. 6d. each net.)

These new volumes of the 'Leaders of the Church' series are sure of an eager welcome. Mr. Russell won Dr. Liddon's

friendship during his first term at Oxford and enjoyed it till his death. He is himself an extreme sacerdotalist, and for him Liddon was incomparably the greatest preacher he ever heard, and all other preaching is estimated by comparison with his masterpieces. Mr. Russell takes Liddon's side in his struggle to retain the Athanasian Creed in its integrity, and says some harsh things of Archbishop Tait, who 'sedulously fomented' the attack on the Creed. We are not disposed to dwell on the controversial points with which this book bristles. It is written from the High Church point of view, but it is the more instructive and better worth reading for that very reason. Those who have least sympathy with Liddon's sacerdotalism are warm admirers of his eloquence and his noble defence of the fundamental doctrines of religion, and they will understand and love him better when they lay down this volume.

Bishop Westcott was not an orator or a controversialist, but a scholar, a saint, a practical mystic. His devotion to New Testament study was intense and lifelong; his zeal for the social uplifting of the masses is a side of his character which makes a wider appeal as time passes. The book is well planned out and well written. It refers to the bishop's close friendship with Dr. Moulton and Dr. Dale, and quotes a passage from the letter sent to him from the Wesleyan Conference at New-castle as he lay on his death-bed. The biographer says Dr. Westcott 'had really little affection for the "saving of souls" through evangelical preaching, sudden conversions did not appeal to him.' That is a significant fact which brings out the limitations of some great and good men.

Augustus Austen Leigh, Provost of King's College, Cambridge. A Record of College Reform. Edited by William Austen Leigh. (Smith, Elder & Co. 8s. 6d. net.)

The record of college reform given in this volume appeals chiefly to those who are interested in university education, and especially to those trained at Eton School or King's College. The charm of the book for others lies in the portrait of a man of singular gentleness and unselfishness—'one of those happy souls of whom we feel instinctively that everything pure, noble, and generous is part of its nature, no more to be separated from it than its life and being.' The provost belonged to the family of which Jane Austen was so distin-

guished a member, and no picture of an English home can well be finer than that given in these pages. His father was a noble preacher and a noble man. At Eton Augustus was captain of college and of the school. Then he passed to King's College, where the rest of his life was spent, save for two years when he was curate at Henley-on-Thames. In his time King's was transformed from a college for Etonians to a great educational centre open to all competitors. Before his death in January 1905 he saw the number of undergraduates grow from twelve or fifteen to nearly a hundred, and the resident Fellows increased threefold. That this great change was effected with comparatively little friction was due to Mr. Austen Leigh's unfailing tact and fine temper. He was an impressive preacher, but his distrust of his own powers led him to refuse every request to publish his sermons. This volume, written with admirable taste and feeling, is a worthy record of a man of unusual powers combined with still more unusual simplicity and singleness of purpose. 'Such a haven in a College or University is priceless.'

The Story of Methodist Union. By W. J. Townsend, D.D. (Milner & Co. 3s. 6d.)

Dr. Townsend has written this 'Story' with much sympathy. His book will be serviceable to the future historian, especially its description of the more recent attempts to effect union between the New Connexion, the Bible Christians, and the United Methodist Free Churches. The least satisfactory part of the book is that in which Dr. Townsend gives an account of the divisions of Methodism. The 'ancient history' of this volume is badly written. Any man who has mastered the subject by reading the pamphlets, the broadsheets, and the abundant literature that poured from the press during the controversies which raged at the close of the eighteenth century, and at intervals in the last century, will turn over Dr. Townsend's opening pages with disappointment. Mistakes abound. Some only indicate haste and dislike of detail; others show that the author has not consulted original documents but has contented himself with repeating the old misleading stories which appear to-day in popular manuals written to catch the market, manuals that are only suitable to persons who dislike accurate instruction. In Dr. Townsend's

brief description of the Protestant Methodist secession we have noted four misstatements of fact on one page. This may be forgiven, inasmuch as few people know anything about the events of 1827. But we expected greater accuracy when we turned to the 'story' of the formation of the Wesleyan Methodist Association. What does Dr. Townsend mean by saying that the 'Revs. Dr. Warren, R. Eckett, and other ministers were expelled'? Was R. Eckett a minister in 1835? This is, however, a trivial blunder. Much more important is the curious statement, 'It now transpired that neither the Plan of Pacification of 1795 nor the Concessions of 1797 had been entered in the Conference Journal, nor signed by the President and Secretary, without which they had no legal binding authority. Therefore, the dispute as to the Institution speedily enlarged itself to one of Church rights and polity.' The 'therefore' is delicious. Does Dr. Townsend really think that the discovery of the technical error of the Secretary of the Conference in omitting to write the Plan of Pacification and the Leeds Regulations in the Journal led to the disputes concerning 'Church rights and polity'? As a matter of fact the omission was not discovered until the controversy on these topics was well on its way. The fact came out in connexion with Dr. Warren's Chancery suit. But in that suit the Plan of Pacification was accepted by all parties as a document having legal force. It appeared in the 'Code of Laws' of 1797, which was accepted as an authoritative document by the Vice-Chancellor and the Lord Chancellor. In addition, the technical error was immediately remedied by the Conference. The effect of the discovery was transient. It is extraordinary that Dr. Townsend should have lifted this incident into a prominence it never occupied in the discussions of 1835. He must go much deeper if he is to find the exciting causes of the great secession which he has so imperfectly sketched.

Archbishop Laud and Priestly Government. By Henry Bell, M.A. (10s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Bell is a retired member of the Indian Civil Service, and a barrister of the Middle Temple. He has employed his leisure in useful historical work. His researches into the life of Laud have been wide, and he has here given us a full portrait, with every wart carefully painted in. As such the book is not without a special value of its own. Laud has

been made in recent years a sort of patron-saint, canonized even by some historians who should have known better. The awkward incidents in his career have been glossed over, or even twisted to mean something contrary to all the evidence. We are glad that such romances have met in Mr. Bell with a sturdy opponent. Let any reader compare the very unfair account of Laud given by Mr. W. H. Hutton in a recent volume of the *History of the English Church* (Macmillan) with Mr. Bell's, and he will see at once to what special pleading Mr. Hutton has more than once descended. But while we believe that Mr. Bell's picture of Laud is in the main correct to life, we cannot but regret the controversial tone in which he has written. He is always, if we may so phrase it, addressing the jury, pointing out the evidence, and pleading for a conviction. The result is that a book which ought to have been first-class history becomes, in places not a few, not history at all, but a polemical tract. Mr. Bell had really so strong a case, if he had only known it, that all that he needed to do was to paint Laud as he really was, and he would have secured a conviction without any summing up. As it is, we fear his tone will prejudice many against a book that really deserves a better judgement.

The Story of Richard Martin. By Joseph Dawson.
(London: C. H. Kelly. 3s. 6d.)

Will this book recall our friend as we knew him? will it prove of interest to others? are natural questions when we handle a new memorial volume of any kind. In the present instance, an emphatic affirmative is the answer to either question. The Richard Martin whom many of us have loved lives again in these pages; while those who never knew him, and who will read, cannot fail to be interested in these 'simple annals' of a good man's life.

If asked beforehand what were Richard Martin's chief characteristics, we should probably have mentioned, apart from his sincere devoutness of spirit, courtesy, humour, independence of thought, and brotherliness, and these are just the traits brought out and illustrated in Mr. Dawson's pages.

The facsimile signature under the frontispiece-portrait of the book, 'Yours in brotherly love,' is ideal, Methodist preachers especially being witnesses. He loved that unique brotherhood with a tender, generous affection, and did not limit his interest to those of his own standing. Indeed, he had

a greater delight in the society of the young than any man of his age whom we remember, and was himself essentially a 'young old man.' There was a winsomeness about him that was irresistible. He was an acquisition to any circle, and had literally 'troops of friends.'

The best part of Mr. Dawson's book is what he calls an 'Autobiographical Fragment.' The circumstances which necessitated its being only a fragment are pathetic, but what there is is delightful. How sincerely we wish there had been more!

We welcome Mr. Dawson's tribute to a charming and saintly man.

Clerkenwell and St. Luke's. By G. E. Mitton. (A. & C. Black. 1s. 6d.)

This is another volume of the useful series begun by Sir Walter Besant. The books are such a handy size and are so thoroughly reliable and up to date that they deserve a great sale. The fascination of London is never failing, and it will grow upon every one who visits the places described with such care by Mr. Mitton. There is a good account of Wesley's chapel and house, but 'Wesleyism' is an ugly word, and the Foundery was taken by Wesley alone, not in concert with Whitefield. There is much to learn from this workmanlike book.

The Roman See in the First Centuries. By Rev. W. E. Beet, M.A. (London: F. Griffiths. 6d. net.)

This little book is one of an excellent series of 'Essays for the Times' which ought to be familiar to readers of the LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, and which certainly deserves all success. To this series Mr. Beet, who bears an honoured name, is contributing two volumes, the one now before us, and a later in continuation, dealing with the Papacy and the Holy Roman Empire. We have read this essay carefully through, and are glad that so scholarly and able a presentation of the subject has been given by a minister of our own Church. We cannot agree with the extreme Protestant scepticism of the early pages as to the residence of St. Peter in Rome, nor is it correct that the source of the legends of St. Peter is to be found in the *Clementines*. They really spring from a much

earlier Gnostic work, published perhaps as early as 130 A.D., called *The Wanderings of the Apostles*. The date of Polycarp's visit to Rome cannot possibly be so late as 155 (p. 18), while we do not think that Mr. Beet has grasped the political motives which influenced Aurelian in his decision in the famous case of Paul of Samosata. Here and there there are other small matters which call for criticism. But these are details which do not impair the general excellence of Mr. Beet's short but satisfactory pamphlet. We heartily commend it to those who desire a good statement of the case against Rome in the early centuries.

The Secret of Heroism. A Memoir of Henry Albert Harper. By W. L. Mackenzie King. (F. H. Revell Co. 3s. net.)

Mr. Harper, a young Canadian journalist, was drowned in the Ottawa River in December 1901, in a noble attempt to save the life of a young lady who in skating had come suddenly on a wide space of open water and had plunged straight into it. He was warned by the drowning girl, but boldly ventured in, and both their lives were lost. The citizens of Ottawa erected a monument, a beautiful bronze Sir Galahad, to keep alive the story of a noble deed. This book is written by a friend. It is a picture of a pure-hearted, thoughtful, earnest young fellow, honestly seeking to 'realize the best' that was in him.

George Buchanan and his Times, by P. Hume Brown (Oliphant & Co., 1s. net), is a short life of Scotland's greatest scholar, expressly written for young people. Some new facts have come to light since Dr. Brown issued his larger work in 1890. The book is written in a way to arrest the attention of young people, and they may learn many a lesson from the farmer's son who had no great friends to push his fortunes, yet made himself one of the most learned men in Europe. It is a story that should never die.

Mr. Unwin's attractive re-issue of G. H. Pike's *Wesley and his Preachers* (3s. 6d.) ought to call fresh attention to a very readable and well-informed book. Much light is here thrown on the whole course of the Evangelical Revival.

GENERAL

The People's Hymnary. With Tunes. (Wesleyan Conference Office.)

IN response to a demand, which was very clearly expressed, the Conference promptly appointed a Committee to prepare a new Hymnary, specially adapted for use in the great Missions which are springing up in all parts of the country.

The success of *The Methodist Hymn-Book* has been quite phenomenal. All previous records have been left far behind, and, taking advantage of this flowing tide of popular favour, *The People's Hymnary* has been launched with every prospect of an equally prosperous voyage. The Committee charged with the preparation of this book was evidently well informed as to the peculiar needs of modern mission work. On the whole the selection of hymns shows great care and wise discretion. The spread of education, particularly in provincial centres, has elevated the taste and quickened the judgement of the masses so that they more readily discriminate between common sense and nonsense.

It is very gratifying to notice how freely the Committee has availed itself of the privilege of selecting from *The Methodist Hymn-Book* all the hymns suitable for the requirements of Mission and Brotherhood services. It would be well to regard *The People's Hymnary* as a supplement to *The Methodist Hymn-Book*. Together they cover the whole ground of our church life and service and represent the unity which is such a growing and hopeful characteristic of modern Methodism.

Thanks are due to the Committee for having boldly placed in the body of the book a choice selection of old Methodist tunes. They might with advantage have worked this mine more freely. Many gems have been omitted which would have added lustre and value to the collection. The Salvation Army has kept alive some of these old favourites, and there is no doubt that P.S.A.'s and other organizations of a similar character would have welcomed the tunes 'Devizes,' 'Diadem,' 'Eccles,' 'Egton,' 'Burnham,' 'Tranquillity,' 'Sovereignty,' and

many others, the names of which come readily to mind. These are still popular and are well worth preserving, but they may all be found in the Appendix to *The Methodist Hymn-Book with Tunes*, and herein is another illustration of the blessing of unity. The Committee has not had sufficient regard for time-honoured associations in dealing with some familiar hymns to which new or unknown tunes have been fitted. It is a pity, for instance, to divorce Bishop Heber's famous hymn, 'From Greenland's Icy Mountains,' from the tune to which it has for many years been universally sung, and, frankly, there does not appear to be any necessity for trying to teach these popular assemblies to sing a new musical setting of a hymn which will probably not be used more than two or three times a year.

These matters, however, are trifling when brought into comparison with the overwhelming merits of the book as a whole. The tunes written for it are excellent without exception. The adaptation of tunes to words indicates sound judgement and ripe experience, and, speaking generally, the whole design is admirably adapted for the purposes which the Committee had in view.

The Hymnary may well be adopted by any church which regards Bible Classes, Brotherhoods, P.S.A.'s, Evangelistic Services and Special Missions as important branches of its work. *The People's Hymnary* is a valuable and substantial contribution to the requirements of modern Christian enterprise and activity, and, as such, there can be no doubt that its complete success is already assured.

Highways and Byways in Dorset. By Sir Frederick Treves, Bart. With Illustrations by Joseph Pennell. (Macmillan & Co. 6s.)

Dorset is a small county, but it is rich in manor-houses, old abbeys, quaint towns and villages. Sir F. Treves describes it as 'a land of moods and changes that know no monotony, . . . so full of hills and dales that there is scarcely a level road within its confines, save by the banks of streams.' He begins his tour at Shaftesbury, which stands on the top of a steep-sided solitary ridge with but one easy road to its crest. King Eadward the Martyr, who was murdered at Corfe, was buried in the abbey in 980, and the miracles said to be wrought at his tomb gave the place a great reputation. It is now 'a bright, pleasant, and healthy town' with 2,000 inhabitants. From the

abbey terrace you look over 'a vast, verdant, undulating valley of the richest pasture land,' which is broken up into a thousand fields, fringed by luxuriant hedges. To the north of Shaftesbury is Mere, where William Barnes, the Dorset poet, taught school for twelve years. Milton Abbas is one of the surprises of a Dorsetshire tourist. Its one street mounting up towards a thicket is lined on either side with yellow-walled cottages. A chestnut-tree is planted between each pair. Joseph Damer, Earl of Dorchester, built these houses in 1786, to take the place of an old hamlet which was too near the spot where he wished to erect his mansion. Bingham's Melcombe, with its exquisite old manor-house, is one of the most charming things in the county. Mr. Pennell's illustration does justice to this gem, and, indeed, all his work is full of spirit. The description of the sea-coast region will appeal to holiday-makers, and two pleasant chapters on Dorchester and its environs bring the ramble to a close. Sir Frederick Treves loves his native county, and his book is so brightly written and so full of matter that every reader will be anxious to know more of these quaint Dorset towns and villages. It is a very happy piece of work.

William Blake. By A. C. Swinburne. (Chatto & Windus. 6s.)

This is a new edition of the critical essay which Mr. Swinburne wrote in 1866. Blake's reputation has grown in the last forty years, but he has had no more enthusiastic admirer or discerning critic. The essay is divided into three sections—Life and Designs, Lyrical Poems, the Prophetic Books. Mr. Swinburne says, 'No one, artist or poet, of whatever school, who had any insight or any love of things noble and lovable, ever passed by this man without taking away some pleasant and exalted memory of him.' The course of his life is sketched 'till the seal of a noble death' was placed upon it in August 1827. Mr. Swinburne's notes on the lyrical poems are a real help to the understanding of Blake's work, with its tender beauty of thought and expression. The section on the Prophetic Books claims that 'in these strangest of all written books there is purpose as well as power, meaning as well as mystery.' A guide to the labyrinth is here, though even with such aid one fears to venture into this world of dreams. But those who do not care for this part of Blake's work will

not hesitate to endorse the verdict with which this essay closes, that 'a more noble memory than that of Blake is hardly left us.' The book is full of interest to students both of Blake and his expositor and champion.

A History of Modern Liberty. By James Mackinnon, Ph.D. 2 Vols. (Longmans. 30s. net.)

Dr. Mackinnon is well known among readers and students of history for his able works on *The Growth and Decline of the French Monarchy*, and his *Edward the Third*. We must confess that we have not always been attracted by Dr. Mackinnon's style, and have at times felt some doubt as to his accuracy, though of the width and extent of his reading and learning there can be no question. In the volumes before us the writer has attempted a still greater task, one also somewhat out of the range of the lines of research in which he has hitherto specialized. The *History of Liberty*, as all the world knows, was the *magnum opus* to which the late Lord Acton dedicated the dreams and learning of his life, and from the writing of which he was, alas! deterred by the very vastness of the subject, and his fatal lack of resolution. What Lord Acton would have made of his theme will now never be known. His vast erudition and broad sympathies would probably have enriched our literature with a great masterpiece. Doubtless he rejoices that the task he never finished, nor even began, has been attempted, though on very different lines, and on less colossal proportions, by a competent scholar.

Dr. Mackinnon wisely confines himself to 'modern' Liberty. In his first volume he deals with the Middle Ages, and sketches in a succession of chapters the various factors in mediaeval life which tended towards emancipation. The volume is practically a survey of European history from this one standpoint. The Italian republics, the communes of France and Spain, the Third Estate and the States General of France, the Free Cities of Germany, the Swiss Bund, the religious revolts of Wyclif and Hus, the 'Groote Privilegie' of the Netherlands, and, of course, the rise of Parliaments in England, all receive full examination and detail. The last chapter of this volume, dealing with the great political writers Marsiglio, Ockham, Nicholas of Cues and Aquinas, seems to us somewhat slight considering the importance to the student of the right understanding of theories that lie at the root of many concrete movements in Church and

State, and which had perhaps greater importance as practical factors in mediaeval times than theories have to-day.

In the second volume, which deals with the Age of the Reformation, the reader will probably be on more familiar ground. The story of the struggle for liberty in Germany, England, the Netherlands and Scotland is well told, nor is Dr. Mackinnon blind to the real nature of the 'liberty' for which so many reformers clamoured, and its difference from twentieth-century ideals.

We are sorry that Dr. Mackinnon has not been allowed by his publisher the use of notes. Half the value of a work of this sort lies in its notes, nor can we say that the list of 'Sources' at the end of each chapter is at all an adequate substitute. The 'sources' are almost tumbled out, as it were, from Dr. Mackinnon's Library, and lie too much in a heap on the floor, after the pernicious fashion set by the *Cambridge Modern History*. A good deal more should have been done in the way of classification and comment upon their value. We have also noticed a good many omissions, and a few misprints. The title of Palacky's great work (I. 183) is made somewhat nonsensical by leaving out 'illustrantia.' To quote Mackenzie's inadequate translation from the French of Bonnechose of a portion only of the Letters of Hus (1846) shows that Dr. Mackinnon has not yet met with the recently published full translation from the original by Messrs. Workman and Pope. Lechler's work on Wyclif (why does Dr. Mackinnon spell Wyclif in German and not in English fashion?) should be quoted in the English edition and not the German of 1875, and in any case is somewhat out of date. But these are small matters. Dr. Mackinnon deserves the thanks of all students for thus bringing together into accessible form much valuable information, and for presenting us with a summary of the growth of Liberty which seems to us judicious and scholarly.

The Citizen of To-morrow. A Handbook on Social Questions. Edited by Samuel E. Keeble for the Wesleyan Methodist Union for Social Service. (Charles H. Kelly. 2s. net.)

Fifteen writers, who are either practical workers or special students of social problems, contribute chapters on the history of the new ideals and methods of social reconstruction, labour

and poverty, citizenship and service. One point on which all the essayists agree is well stated by Mr. H. Bisseker: 'For social reformers to separate themselves from Christianity would be to abandon the only power which can transform their ideals into realities.' At the present stage in the study of complex social questions it could not be expected that fifteen writers would adopt a uniform terminology. 'Humanitarianism' and 'Socialism' are two terms that remain undefined in one or two of the essays. In an interesting chapter on 'Wesley and Social Service,' the writer expresses his 'deliberate opinion' that if Wesley had 'lived in the highly complex life of the twentieth century, he would have been a socialist.' Is it not as probable that Wesley, had he lived to-day, would have criticized the indiscriminate use of the term 'socialist' as severely as he did the use of the word 'Liberty'? The essayist well observes that Wesley 'displays a great abhorrence for the shrieking of the word Liberty! Liberty!' His dislike of the word as a *catchword* manifests itself in those various 'calm' or 'serious' addresses of his to England and Ireland. Mr. Frank Ballard contributes a chapter on 'Christianity and Socialism' in which the vague use of terms is avoided, and the whole question is dealt with in a lucid and masterly style. He suggests an 'eirenicon, rather than an imaginary holy war.' 'Christianity without some form of genuine application to social reform is a glaring self-contradiction. Socialism as an ideal is utterly impracticable without those individual forces making for righteousness which Christianity most strongly evokes.' The editor of the *Contemporary Review*, Mr. Percy Bunting, writes on 'The Law and the Citizen.' He expounds a principle and suggests a 'system' which 'would change the face of England in two generations, if not in one, and would lay the foundations of a truly democratic and progressive State.' W. Fiddian Moulton, M.A., J. Scott Lidgett, M.A., W. F. Lofthouse, M.A., T. N. Kelynack, M.D., C. Ensor Walters, J. Ash Parsons, A. P. Grubb, W. B. FitzGerald, G. W. McArthur and Marie Stuart also contribute to this timely manual, with its statistics up to date, its brief bibliographies, and useful index. It is more than a manifesto of the 'Union for Social Service.' It registers a stage in the evolution of Methodism as an evangelical social movement. It will help forward the great cause of Christian social reform.

The Constitution and Polity of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, on the plan of the work by Henry W. Williams, D.D. Third and enlarged edition, brought down to the Conference of 1905. By David J. Waller, D.D., LL.D. (Charles H. Kelly. 5s. net.)

This invaluable manual illustrates a saying of the late Dr. Benjamin Gregory, 'Methodism was from the beginning a threefold enterprise: 1. Evangelistic, 2. Eleemosynary, 3. Educational.' With the exception, perhaps, of *The Christian Discipline of the Society of Friends*, there is no manual of polity which is so suggestive of spiritual principles for the organized communion of saints. It traces the ecclesiastical evolution of Methodism. It is indispensable to the church historian, with its carefully verified dates, references, and index. It is the one complete handbook of polity for the pastoral administration within the Methodist Church. It records the result and the distribution of the great Methodist Eucharist, the Twentieth Century Fund of £1,075,727 13s. 8d. and notes the last stage in the development of Methodist hymnology. The new edition was needed, for since the second edition was published in 1899 an extraordinary amount of new and important legislation has been enacted. All this is brought together and placed in order in connexion with each subject and department of Methodism.

A Handbook of British Inland Birds. By Anthony Collett. With coloured and outline plates of eggs by Eric Parker. (Macmillan & Co. 6s. net.)

This admirable handbook, professedly intended for nature students whose knowledge of ornithology is not of an advanced character, deals exclusively with those species of birds, as well as their nests and eggs, which are to be found in the inland districts of this country. Mr. Collett contends that though we have a very large number of shore and sea birds, they so seldom, generally speaking, happen to cross the path of the great majority of persons interested in bird life, that there should be a useful place for a book in which the space gained by omitting their numerous company was devoted to a closer species. The book here supplied is of such a kind that we have no doubt, especially when its size and price are taken into

consideration, it is the best on its subject to be procured at the present time. Wherever there is even a probability of confusion between birds, or nests, or eggs, the points of difference are effectively indicated, the enumeration of unnecessary and often bewildering details is avoided, and reference is clearly made to the most characteristic features in plumage, flight, or cry. Praise should certainly be given to the excellent coloured illustrations of eggs with which the book is enriched; and no ornithologist will question the author's wisdom in making frequent use in his text of Mr. Howard Saunders' *Illustrated Manual of British Birds*. Messrs. Collett and Parker have produced a handbook which in every respect merits hearty commendation.

Christian Missions and Social Progress. A Sociological Study of Foreign Missions. By the Rev. James S. Dennis, D.D. Vol. iii. (Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier. 10s. net.)

Dr. Dennis has now brought his important work to a successful close. It arose out of his lectures at Princeton in 1893 and 1896. In earlier volumes he has shown that missions are a great power 'in social progress, a moulding influence upon national life, and a factor of importance in commercial expansion, as well as a stimulus to the religious reformation, not only of individual lives but of society as a whole, through many and varied channels of influence.' The present volume deals with 'The Contribution of Christian Missions to Social Progress.' The first place is given to 'Results tending to develop the Higher Life of Society,' such as the introduction of educational facilities; the development of industrial training; modern methods of University training; Christian associations for young men and women; literature, &c. Abundant information is given as to the work of the various missionary societies in these departments. Then Dr. Dennis deals with Results touching National Life and Character, the Commercial and Industrial Status; Reformed Standards of Religious Faith and Practice. There is a wealth of facts and figures such as no previous worker in these fields has gathered, and everything is put so clearly and impressively that the work will be of untold service to the missionary student and advocate. Dr. Dennis has gathered pictures from all parts of the world to illustrate his volume.

Text and pictures furnish striking evidence as to the glorious work the Church of Christ is doing for the renewal of human character and life all over the earth. Every college and public library ought to have this masterpiece on its shelves.

Messrs. Gibbings publish a reprint of *The Symbolism of Churches and Church Ornaments* (6s. net), a translation of the first book of the *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, by William Durandus, who was Bishop of Mende in 1286. John Mason Neale and B. Webb were responsible for the Introductory Essay and Notes in the edition of 1842. Neale's stamp upon it is evident. 'The heartless Quaker' with 'the presumptuous pride and vanity of his sect' was an offence to the symbolist, but we can understand the Quaker's attitude in days when there was danger lest religion should become little but symbolism. The book was well worth reprinting. There is a store of information in it from which many will be glad to draw, and Durandus often makes one smile. 'The cock at the summit of the Church is the type of preachers. For the cock, ever watchful even in the depth of night, giveth notice how the hours pass, wakeneth the sleepers, predicteth the approach of day, but first exciteth himself to crow by striking his sides with his wings. There is a mystery conveyed in each of these particulars. The night is the world; the sleepers are the children of the world who are asleep in their sins. The cock is the preacher, who preacheth boldly, and exciteth the sleepers to cast away the works of darkness, exclaiming, "Woe to them that sleep! Awake thou that sleepest!"'

Christus Redemptor. An Outline Study of the Island World of the Pacific. By Helen B. Montgomery. (Macmillan & Co. 2s. net.)

This is the sixth book in a series intended for the use of missionary study classes. More than a quarter of a million of these textbooks have been sold. The last volume is very complete and compact. We have no single book which deals with all the islands of the Pacific, and the story gains much in impressiveness by this general view. Besides the history of each mission there are descriptions of the islands, botanical notes, interesting quotations from native sermons, prayers, and sayings, with topics for writings and discussions. In dealing with Fiji the 'mighty figure of James Calvert' is made

prominent, and the story of Thakombau is impressively told. John Hunt is referred to, but the chapter would gain if a page on him and his work were added. The book is just what classes need, and though it is packed with matter it is alive from first to last.

The Story of Hedgerow and Pond. By R. B. Lodge.
Coloured Illustrations from drawings by G. E. Lodge.
(Charles H. Kelly. 5s. net.)

Mr. Lodge is one of the best interpreters of nature that we have, and this book is quite as attractive and instructive as *The Birds and their Story*. It will help all young people to open their eyes, and will invest hedgerow and pond with new delights to those who already know something of their wonders. Mr. Lodge does not know how to be dull, and he moves about from one object of interest to another, helping us to understand the lives of rabbits and kingfishers, of tits and cuckoo and heron, and revealing the marvels of adaptation and skill that meet the thoughtful eye at every step of a country road. The coloured pictures are as charming and as loyal to nature as the book. We can give them no higher praise.

Life's Greatest Problem and how it is solved. By the
Rev. W. E. Russell. (Charles H. Kelly. 2s. 6d.)

The purpose of this thoughtful book is to show that 'all life's problems lead us back to the greater problem of the regeneration of the individual.' For example, on the land problem Mr. Russell says: 'If a man is disposed to "grind the faces of the poor," he will do so. Parliament might prevent him from doing it in one way, but he will do it in another.' After a brief survey of the facts, the solution of the problem is found in 'The Book of Life' and 'The Saviour of Life.'

Though Mr. Russell touches on many themes, there is a unity in his volume. He covers too much ground to do justice to all the great subjects included, but he thinks clearly, reasons cogently, and has a direct and forceful style. His book is one of many welcome signs that young ministers are successfully striving to show the bearing of evangelical doctrine on the manifold problems of our time.

Tickell's Latin Syntax. (London: O. Newmann & Co. 1s. 6d.)

The method pursued by the author of this booklet substitutes the principle of limitation or 'limiting capacity' for the ordinary arrangement of the rules of Latin syntax. For example, instead of treating of the instrumental ablative under a special section of the cases, he describes it as follows (under nouns or pronouns=limiting words): 'Noun limits verb as instrument, e.g. *se defendebant scutis*, *they—defended themselves with—shields*'; and so on with adverbs and verbs. This certainly has the advantage of compactness and convenience, but we doubt whether the average schoolboy will find his burden lightened by this new method.

To the 'City Road' Poets (Kelly, 3s. 6d.) has been added *The Poetical Works of John Keats*, edited by Mr. George Sampson, and 'frontispiced' by a fine engraving from the portrait of the poet by W. Hilton, R.A., in the National Portrait Gallery. Paper, type, and binding are all that could be desired, and the edition of the poet's works is sufficiently complete. A few selected notes would have been welcome, and a brief biography. Those who read the odes and sonnets for the first time, to say nothing of 'The Pot of Basil' and 'La Belle Dame Sans Merci,' and 'Endymion' and 'Hyperion,' will desire to know at least the outlines of the life of one who, in a moment of despondency, declared that his name was 'writ in water,' but who, by these masterpieces, secured imperishable and ever-growing fame. No English poet is so much with us at the present day as Keats; not even Browning, or Wordsworth, or Shakespeare. As the poet of beauty—not its interpreter—that was Wordsworth's mission—but its seer and revealer—the author of 'Hyperion' and 'Endymion' is unique. No generation has been more disposed than ours to endorse his incomplete and arbitrary dictum that 'beauty is truth, truth beauty,' and that 'that is all we know on earth, and all we need to know.' And the world as it gets older will turn more and more to the poet with the gift, above all others, of seeing beauty everywhere, and of making us, by means of magic verse, behold the vision which enchanted and absorbed his mind. This convenient and choice edition should do much to make him still more widely known.

How to Find and Name Wild Flowers, by Thomas Fox, F.L.S. (Cassell & Co., 1s. 6d.), gives a new method of observing and identifying upwards of 1,200 species of flowering plants. They are arranged under the months in which they begin to flower and under their various colours. It is a very easy and helpful method. One of the entries for August will show the style of the work. 'Rose or Pink. Marsh-mallow.—Diameter nearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ in.; sepals 5, with 6-9 bracts beneath; petals 5; stamens many; leaves $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. broad, thickish, ovate-cordate or roundish, toothed; flowers in axillary cymes, shorter than the leaves; sea-marshes; $1\frac{1}{2}$ -3 feet.' A number refers to the list of 'natural orders, genera, and species.' It is a book which every lover of wild flowers will find invaluable.

The Church Missionary Society has issued *Contrasts in the Campaign* (1s. 6d.), descriptions of what the heathen are, how men and women among them are won for Christ, and how grace transforms their characters and lives. The papers are the fruit of much experience, and are very bright and full of incident. It is a book that will be read with delight and thankfulness. *Notes on Africa* (1s.) is a manual for students, packed with information about the Dark Continent, its inhabitants, and every phase of its missionary history. There is no small book on Africa so complete and compact as this.

The Nineteenth Century Series which Messrs. Chambers are publishing in twenty-five volumes at 5s. net is a worthy monument to a great century. Every side of its activities is brought out by recognized experts, and the treatment is both scientific and popular. Readers of this journal will expect much from Prof. J. A. Thomson's *Progress of Science in the Century*, and they will find a wonderful account of the developments of chemistry, physics, astronomy, and geology. The section on the science of organisms is of great importance, and so are the last three chapters, which deal with psychology, anthropology, and sociology. It is such a survey as only a master could have written. Mr. C. G. D. Roberts has prepared the chronicle of *Discoveries and Explorations*. His subject is as interesting as Prof. Thomson's. To mention Arctic and Antarctic exploration, and the wonderful opening up of Africa to civilization, is enough to suggest the riches of this popular and entertaining record. There are some rather serious errors. *The Progress*

of Art is traced by William Sharp from 'Gainsborough, the real father of contemporary British art,' down to Watts, Morris, and Whistler. American and European art, as well as modern sculpture and architecture, are included in this luminous and comprehensive survey. Elizabeth A. Sharp has written the valuable chapters on music. To study the three volumes is itself an education, and those who begin will find the interest increase at every step.

John Wesley on Preaching, edited by the Rev. Joseph Dawson (Kelly, 1s. 6d. net), is an attempt to gather up Wesley's counsels on that art of which he was one of the great masters. In a preliminary sketch Mr. Dawson tries to fathom the secret of Wesley's power as a preacher. His face and bearing exerted a charm on his hearers, his sermons had the order and precision of an advance of infantry, his words 'never stray, never falter, never miss the mark.' His pointed use of personal pronouns enhanced the effect of his discourses, and their application of New Testament teaching to daily life gave them something like divine authority. Mr. Dawson has laid every preacher under obligation by this excellent little manual.

The Skipper Parson. By James Lumsden (Kelly, 2s. 6d.). Mr. Lumsden spent eleven years in Newfoundland as a Methodist minister, and his descriptions of the colony and the people are very happy. There is a great deal to be learnt from his book both as to the history and the present position of Newfoundland, and it is beautifully and profusely illustrated. Mr. Lumsden gives an amusing account of his first attempt to use snowshoes. Unfortunately he put them on over his long leather boots and they proved worse than useless. He took them off and toiled through the snow. When he learned to wear them over a pair of moccasins he soon 'delighted in the delicious exercise of striking out on a sea of trackless snow.'

Many will welcome Mr. Kelly's cheap reprints of *Westward Ho!* *The Wide, Wide World*, *John Lyon*, and *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (3s. 6d. each). They are handsomely bound and have some unusually skilful coloured pictures which add zest to the story. Such books have established a claim to a place in every boy's and girl's library, and these very attractive volumes will give rare pleasure in every family that is fortunate enough to possess them.

Radia: New Light on Old Truths. By A. C. More.
(Elliot Stock. 3s. 6d. net.)

The author of this volume has ventured on difficult ground, for there is always a feeling on the part of the reader to compare such work with Milton's immortal epic. Though there are occasional lines which justify the writer's boldness, much of this blank verse is simply a paraphrase of Old Testament prophecy. As such it will be welcomed and appreciated by many, for the subject is of paramount interest, and is ever new. Mr. More treats of Paradise, the Holy City, the Messiah, the Multitude of Nations, and Death, and very properly retains much of the dignity and strength which great subjects should always exhibit. The book is well printed on good paper, and is very neatly produced; and we cordially commend it to all with tastes for prophetic truth put in an attractive form.

Revelatio Dei (Elliot Stock, 2s. 6d. net). The Rev. Barnard Herklots, M.A., has written a poem on the Revelation of God in Creation, the Incarnation, and the Dispensation of the Holy Spirit. It is, necessarily, of unequal merit, but the blemishes are few and the excellences many. Mr. Herklots bids us 'see God everywhere,' and strives to lend clearness to our vision. On Free-will he writes:

God would have naught mechanical in man,
Each in his several way, and by his choice
Must work out God's design. God keeps no slaves.

And this is not the only good thing in his poem.

Ways of Marigold, by Florence Bone (Kelly, 2s.), is a story of the North Riding which will charm young people. Marigold and her aunt Margaret would make the fortune of any book. It is not easy to put it down till the last word is reached.

Amor Veritatis, by M. Pennell (Stock, 5s.), is a Protestant story, the aim of which is to bring to light and expose the errors of Rome. There is too much Protestantism and too little story, though the tone is good and the argument strong.

Wesley's Revision of the Shorter Catechism, with notes by J. A. Macdonald (Edinburgh: Morton, 2s. 6d. net), will

interest theological students on both sides of the Border. Mr. Macdonald has done his work with great care and skill, though he might well have omitted a sentence or two about Methodism.

The Science of Dry Fly-Fishing. By Fred. G. Shaw, F.G.S. (Bradbury, Evans & Co.)

The subject of dry fly-fishing is no doubt 'caviare to the general'; but to all interested in trout-fishing as a scientific pastime this book may be commended as a very lucid and fair statement of the case from the 'dry' point of view. In cloudy weather and on rough water, when the natural bait sinks several inches as it is hurried down stream, wet flies may be used with advantage, as our author freely admits; but there can be little doubt that, when the sun is bright, and the water clear and slow, a floating fly thrown up stream is the best, if not the only way of luring your fish. The 'dry' method requires more skill in casting, and more promptitude in striking, and those who practise it successfully feel a little superior, no doubt, to those who trust to the chance of sunken flies. Mr. Shaw gives a number of intelligible rules and directions about casting a trout fly, which are illustrated by admirable diagrams and photographs. These add greatly to the value of the book. There is also much useful information about rods, tackle, &c. Altogether it is an excellent work, practical and helpful, and free from the rhapsodies and rather heavy sentiment in which angler-authors are apt to indulge.

Mr. FitzGerald's *Specimen Evenings for Wesley Guilds* will brighten and enrich every young people's society in which it is used. A good programme goes far to make a prosperous guild, and there are great riches in this little volume. Everything is put in the most attractive and helpful way.

Messrs. Morgan & Scott have enlarged and improved *Sacred Songs and Solos* in a way that will add much to its value. This edition contains 1,200 pieces, and only costs twopence.

Dr. Clark Hutton's *Disestablishment: the Sine Qua Non* (Macnaughton & Sinclair, 3d.), is the outcome of the Free Church troubles. The pamphlet claims consideration.

Everyday Life in Bengal, and other Indian Sketches, by William H. Hart (Kelly, 3s. 6d.), attempts to make India a real world to those who can never hope to see it with their own eyes. Mr. Hart was for sixteen years an Indian missionary and is well qualified as guide in this survey of life in Bengal. The contrasts presented by a morning's walk in Calcutta are startling. From the region of clubs, stores, and mansions the traveller passes suddenly into the *bazaar*, a long street, teeming with Indian life. Near a god shop, where divinities may be had for a farthing upwards, lies a devotee on a bed of spikes, with an admiring group looking on; a little farther is a shrine where women bring their petitions, and still farther a lane of afflicted beggars before the largest temple. Close by is the sacred stream with men and women bathing together with much freedom. Mr. Hart shows us the temples, the bazaars, the homes of India, its festivals and weddings, explains the delights of travel, and adds some brightly-written pages of history. It is a most enjoyable book, and Mr. Hart's camera has greatly helped his pen.

The Tulip Tree. By Robert J. Kerr. (Dublin: Combridge & Co. 1s. net.) Mr. Kerr is a true poet with a dainty touch and much grace of expression. His poems are in a minor key, but they are sweet and they set one dreaming.

Amelia and the Doctor. By Horace G. Hutchinson. (Smith, Elder & Co. 6s.) It is a pleasure to read such a study of quiet life as this. Amelia—Miss Carey—is the Lady Bountiful of the village, with the innocence and gentle goodness of a child. The doctor had been her lover, and his sharp speeches cannot conceal his heart of gold. There are two lovers who soon win the reader's liking and goodwill. Perhaps the strangest study is a burglar who cannot allow a feeling heart to interfere with his profession. There are some clever sayings in the book, and it is full of good nature—almost too full. Mr. Hutchinson can scarcely expect us to regard his money-lender as a transcript from life.

The Works of Emerson (City Road Series, Kelly, 3s. 6d.) fill more than 720 pages. *The Essays, English Traits, Society and Solitude, The Conduct of Life, Letters and Social Aims* are all here. It is a feast for the gods, a book to be treasured and pondered for a life-time.

Periodical Literature

BRITISH.

The Quarterly Review (July—October) has at least two articles of more than passing interest, the one on *The Origin and Historical Basis of the Oxford Movement*, and the other on *The Literature of Egotism*. The former is a valuable essay in the philosophy of history. The latter is based on several works which have recently attracted the attention of thoughtful minds—*The Garden that I Love*, *The Upton Letters*, *The House of Quiet*, *The Daybook of Melisande*, &c. 'In all these volumes,' says the writer, 'we meet with a spirit of high seriousness, enriched and harmonized by liberal and fastidious culture; and in none of them are these qualities more apparent than in that of the authoress who is the latest contributor to this class of reflective literature. *From December to December: the Daybook of Melisande*, represents the mind of a woman of to-day who has been brought up, as she says, under purely secular influences, and surrounded by the claims, duties, and distractions incident to wealth and leisure; but who has found, as a matter of daily experience, that the spiritual life alone can make the life of the world satisfying; and who indicates with singular vividness and a singular charm of style, neither due to, nor showing a trace of, any conscious literary artifice, how in her own case spiritual life and the common life have been united without definite opposition to creeds, and also without dependence on them.'

The best things in the **Dublin Review** (July—October) are a sympathetic and instructive character sketch of the late Professor Sidgwick by the editor, Mr. Wilfrid Ward, and a brief review of Mr. Alfred Austin's recent poem, *The Door of Humility*. The Cambridge Professor is described as an 'enthusiastic doubter,' who was at the same time a most stimulating companion and friend. 'Morally as well as mentally,' says Mr. Ward, 'Sidgwick was one of the great academic figures of our time. Relentless as a critic, the very embodiment of intellectual indecision, he was, nevertheless, rich in sympathy, strenuous in effort, with high and simple aims, and, above all, characterized by an intense passion for truth.' Commenting on the inscription placed by loving hands upon his tomb, 'In Thy light shall he see light,' the writer acutely and charitably remarks that, 'Few philosophers have ever desired more earnestly to see that light; yet the very multiplicity of the points of view he realized so vividly made it harder for him than for most to concentrate his gaze upon it.'

Mr. W. H. Mallock, in the **National Review** for August, pays a high tribute to the greatly under-estimated gifts displayed in Mr. Austin's work in prose and verse. 'Taking the lowest estimate which any competent critic could honestly take, of his poetry, Mr. Austin has failed thus far to receive even the minimum of recognition which is his due. A scholar and accomplished linguist; a traveller intimately acquainted with many countries and their history; an unusually acute student of foreign politics; an eye-witness of many of the most stirring events of modern times,' he is admirably equipped as a prose writer. Moreover, 'the poetic impulse is an ineradicable part of his nature . . . Inaccurate, insufficient, and self-obscuring, as he constantly is in the execution of his poetry—presenting in these respects a marked contrast to his predecessor—he, in himself, equals, and probably excels, Lord Tennyson in his general conception of what great poetry is.'

In an article on *Dora Greenwell's Poems* by Dora Greenwell McChesney (**Fortnightly**, August), there is a suggestive, if somewhat querulous, comparison between this fine singer's work and Christina Rossetti's. Won by the romantic glamour of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, the world—it is suggested—has glorified Miss Rossetti's 'union of sadness and faith, of sensuous beauty and spiritual exaltation,' and has not accorded to Miss Greenwell, 'a writer of kindred temperament and of a no less individual note,' her full meed of praise. This lack of recognition may also be due to the traces of spiritual conflict and even of scepticism to be found in many of her poems. Yet, as the writer notes, in touching on Miss Greenwell's heroic verse, the root of the matter was in her, and she loved to dwell upon the gentler victories of faith.

A warm word of welcome may be given to the new quarterly, entitled **Science Progress in the Twentieth Century**, whose main endeavour will be 'to present summaries, as far as possible of a non-technical character, of important recent work in any branch of science, to show the progress achieved, and if possible to indicate something of the line along which further advance is to be made towards the desired end.' The first number (Murray, 5s.) covers a wide range of subjects, including *Insect Pests, the Goldfields of Australia, Recent Experiments with Chloroform, The Teaching of Natural Science in Schools, &c.*, and promises to be of more than ordinary interest and value.

Hibbert Journal (July).—Sir Oliver Lodge carries his work of mediation between science and religion a step further by producing a short catechism, 'based on scientific knowledge, but leading up to a religious creed.' The article which prepares the way for the catechism deserves careful reading, and we note that in a part of it Sir O. Lodge lays it down that the following statement can be deduced from a study of the records of the past in the light of the

present—'I believe in one Infinite and Eternal Being, a guiding and loving Father, in whom all things consist. I believe that the Divine Nature is specially revealed to man through Jesus Christ our Lord . . . that prayer is a means of communion between man and God, and that the Holy Spirit is ever ready to help us along the way towards goodness and truth, so that by unselfish service we may gradually enter into the Life Eternal.' This may not include all that the orthodox may wish, but it cannot be denied that it contains the nucleus of a noble and helpful 'scientific' creed. Canon Knox Little, in his article on *Udenominationalism*, shows that he and those who agree with him, like the Bourbons, 'forget nothing and learn nothing.' He makes the same old exclusive claims for the Church of England, denies that such a thing as 'common' or 'fundamental Christianity' exists, and thinks that he can upset the Government Education Bill by quoting the text, 'The righteous Lord loveth righteousness.' He and those who think with him will have their eyes opened one day. Perhaps then they will answer Dr. K. C. Anderson's question propounded in another article of this number, 'Why not face the facts?' The trouble is to know what 'the facts' are, as between Canon Knox Little, Dr. Anderson, and Principal Forsyth, to all of whom the Editor has given space to say their say on the same subject. For ourselves Dr. Forsyth seems best to gauge the needs of the time. He has had much to say of late on the doctrines of grace, but few will think that the present article, entitled *A Rallying Ground for the Free Churches*, is superfluous. The needs of England to-day will not be adequately met either by the Canon's narrow High Churchism, nor by Dr. Anderson's Unitarian Rationalism, nor by a shallow Free Church Udenominationalism. If the Nonconformist Churches of to-day are to accomplish the task that now falls to their lot, corresponding to the great work done by their Puritan and Methodist forefathers, they must heed what men like Dr. Forsyth have to tell them concerning the 'reality of grace as the be-all and end-all of Christianity.' We should like also to commend the instalment in this number of Prof. Henry Jones' articles on *Social Reformation*. It contains the pith of what all social reformers should hold as the very substance of their creed and the ultimate aim of all their efforts.

Journal of Theological Studies (July).—In a paper to which the post of honour is given in this number, Canon Kennett advocates an exilic date for Deuteronomy, whilst he accounts it a Palestinian work. His arguments are feeble and unconvincing. Literary parallels prove little, and it is no more likely that Jeremiah was influenced by the Deuteronomist than vice versa. Mr. Kennett shows, however, some of the difficulties which attach to the prevalent theory that the book was composed immediately before the reforms of Josiah. An article on *Some Creed Problems*, by Rev. T. Barns, is purely literary, not theological. It deals chiefly with the Received Text of the Apostles' Creed and the light shed on its history by

Niceta of Remesiana. Amongst the 'Notes and Studies' a very interesting paper is contributed by Dr. C. Taylor on the Agrapha of our Lord, and another by Dr. Redpath on the use of the Divine names in the Septuagint version. On figures carefully compiled, Dr. Redpath seeks to base an argument for the dates of the translation of the various books. He suggests that 'those in which *θεός* stands frequently for Jahweh would come before, and those in which the present text of the Hebrew is almost invariably followed would come after the settlement of the authorized Hebrew consonantal text.'

Review of Theology and Philosophy (August).—The *Survey of Recent Theological Literature* undertaken by Prof. Garvie includes twenty-five books in German and English, ranging from a new edition of Herrmann's *Ethics* to two valuable booklets written by the critic himself. The works discussed deal chiefly with ethical and social questions, but in the briefest fashion. A notice in six lines of volumes so important as Dill's *Roman Society*, Dobschütz' *Urchristlichen Gemeinden* and others, is only tantalizing. This bird's-eye view, however, may be a guide to some readers. We quite agree with Dr. Garvie's view of Bruce's *Social Aspects of Christian Morality*; the subject is so important and the treatment given to it so disappointing. A review by Professor Souter of Oxford deals with Rendtorff's dissertation on *Baptism in the Early Church* and the Question whether Matt. xxviii. 19 contains the actual words of our Lord. Dr. Adams Brown of New York writes very interestingly on the *Philosophy of Religion* in reviewing a book by Professor A. Drews, and on *The Inaugural Lectures in the Faculty of Theology in the University of Manchester*. We are glad that French theological and philosophical literature, as represented by works of Ménégoz, Fouillée, and others, is not forgotten in this number.

The Expositor (July).—Dr. Adam Smith lights up afresh for his readers the times of Ezra and Nehemiah. He considers that though the chronology of the period and the relations of its two principal actors are uncertain, the main events are clearly outlined for us in Scripture, and he helps to elucidate them. Prof. Margoliouth praises Dr. Orr's *The Problem of the Old Testament* as well as he can, but it is almost amusing to watch how even this moderate critic finds it necessary repeatedly to 'hedge' in commending so 'conservative' or 'reactionary' a treatise. But Dr. Orr has not yet been answered by any of those who think him behind the times. Other articles are, *Tarsus*, by Prof. Ramsay; *The Site of Capernaum*, by Prof. Knight; and *The Scribes of the Nazarenes*, by J. H. A. Hart.

In the August number Dr. J. H. Moulton begins a series of papers entitled *Synoptic Studies*, the present instalment dealing with the Beatitudes. The point of view from which these interesting studies are undertaken is indicated in the opening paragraph. Does the First or the Third Gospel preserve and render our Lord's original

words (in Aramaic) more faithfully? A comparison of these two Gospels and the endeavour to trace out the original form of the words of Jesus will enable us the better to grasp their essential meaning. The study undertaken by Dr. Moulton from this point of view of the Beatitudes in their Matthaean and Lucan forms is full of fascination and instruction. Professor G. Adam Smith continues his papers on *The Jerusalem of the Nehemian Period*, and Professor Ramsay his historico-geographical description of Tarsus. His account of the Oriental spirit in that city is most interesting. Other papers are on *The Mystical Doctrine of Christ and the Unchangeableness of Jesus Christ in relation to Christian Doctrine*.

In the part for September Prof. Vernon Bartlet replies to Mr. Robinson's contention that Hippolytus was the author of the Muratorian Canon, and inclines to a change in the traditional name of the document to the 'Canon of Melito.' Dr. Duckworth of Toronto points out the difficulties involved in the date 165 B.C. now generally assigned to the Book of Daniel, arising from its canonical recognition and position; but the paper is too slight to deal satisfactorily with so large a subject. Professor Buchanan Gray's investigation into the text and alphabetical structure of Psalms ix. and x. is very interesting to scholars, and we are inclined to think that he has proved his point as to a measure of corruption in the text.

The most interesting articles in the **Expository Times** for July are Dr. King's *The Sabbath in the Light of the Higher Criticism* and Dr. H. A. Kennedy's notice of Moulton's *New Testament Grammar*. Dr. Kennedy, who ought to know, thinks that the importance of the book he reviews as a contribution to the scientific study of the New Testament 'can scarcely be exaggerated.' And so say all who have a right to pronounce a judgement. Those who study this short article will be partly prepared to understand why.

In the number for August Mr. M'Culloch of Portree deals with the religion of Palaeolithic man, and seeks to show that 'a comparatively rich religious heritage was possessed by man in quaternary times,' that he had high gods, artistically portrayed, worshipped the dead and believed in a future life, that he was probably a totemist and adored the sun. Perhaps. Yet even quaternary man was not primitive man. Will no one tell us what he believed? A thoughtful paper by the Rev. A. A. Brockington emphasizes the importance in these days of regarding miracles as signs rather than as mere portents. Miracles may *prove* doctrine, but St. John enables us to understand that they *are* doctrine. The discussion on the choice of lessons in public worship drags on in this number, no fewer than thirteen ministers giving their opinion upon it. Surely enough has been said, after some months of discussion, upon a question the merits of which might be summed up in a couple of pages. But the editor knows his constituency better than we do.

In the September part Dr. Hastings draws attention to Professor Schmiedel's defence of his article *Gospels* in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*. It is feeble in the extreme, and we confess we cannot understand how a scholar like Schmiedel can shelter himself under the pretext that his article was only apologetic as against writers who deny the very existence of Jesus. If the defence now put forward means that this very able critic is conscious that his article was (unintentionally) one-sided and unfair, that is quite intelligible, and the acknowledgement is so much to the good. Professor Deissmann is to write a series of articles for the next volume of the *Expository Times*, and in this number Mr. L. Strachan gives an interesting account of the comparatively young Heidelberg Professor and his work. Dr. Banks, Dr. Tasker, and Dr. Taylor introduce three German works of varying value to their readers; Dr. Drummond praises, with faint criticisms, Forrest's *Authority of Christ*; Mr. Kelman continues his interesting papers on *The Pilgrim's Progress*.

Primitive Methodist Quarterly Review (July).—It is difficult to select out of fourteen short articles in this number any single paper of marked excellence. The average is good, but the note of distinction is absent. Dr. James Lindsay contributes a sketch of Milton's *Ode on the Nativity*, which can hardly, however, be said to be 'rather neglected.' The writer on *Sunday School Reform* praises Prof. Peake's pamphlet on the subject, but we do not know how far the teachers in Primitive Methodist Sunday schools are competent or prepared to carry out his suggestions. Rev. Sidney Mees discusses Prof. Huxley's claim to be considered 'one of the immortals,' and the titles of other interesting though somewhat slight articles are: *A Sociological Forecast*, *The Brontës and their Environment*, and *Some Conventional Types of Fiction*. The brief reviews are, as usual, well and carefully written.

AMERICAN.

Princeton Theological Review (July).—An address by Prof. Vos on *Christian Faith and the Truthfulness of Bible History* reprinted in this number is most timely. The vital character of the issues raised by much current New Testament criticism is perhaps hardly appreciated, as it ought to be, in this country. Either Christianity is in its origin a system of facts and the gospel as contained in the New Testament is a just interpretation of them, or it is not. In the latter case, the gospel ceases to be 'the power of God unto salvation.' Ritschlians and others who depreciate history and declare the facts to be inessential to the religion forget that men are not saved by ideas. Mr. W. B. Greene's attack on *Broad Churchism* is at least marked by vigour. He considers that the Broad Church attitude of mind is 'essentially sinful,' that it 'tends toward mental suicide,' and is 'a direct insult to God Himself.' Mr. Greene comes to the

conclusion that 'a doctrine like that of the absolute sovereignty of God in the bestowal of grace it will be felt to be worth while to maintain even our own denominational individuality to testify to'—a statement more Calvinistically orthodox than grammatically elegant. We fear that such advocacy as this article contains will not do much to diminish the 'universal prevalence of Broad Churchism' which the writer deprecates. Two papers deal with Scottish theology. One is on the *Marrow Controversy*, and another, by Dr. James Lindsay, traces recent theological developments in Scotland and advocates a modernization of theology and apologetics.

American Journal of Theology (July).—Dr. Adams Brown of Union Seminary describes in this number the *Changes in the Theology of American Presbyterianism*. Few men could do the work better, and his study is most interesting. The fact that a new creed has been prepared, which represents the present type of theological thought of American Presbyterianism, though it has not been substituted for the Confession of Faith as a legal standard, illustrates very appositely the change that has taken place in the last two centuries. The doctrines of reprobation and the damnation of non-elect infants have disappeared and that of the Fall has been essentially modified. The tone and spirit of the new Presbyterian Creed and the new Book of Worship are most significant. Professor H. B. Smith contributes an instructive paper on *The Old Testament Theory of Atonement*, and Dr. Keirstead, whose name is not known to us, discusses very ably the *Theological Presuppositions of Ritschlianism*. He is fair to Ritschl himself, whilst pointing out the dangers and fallacies of the doctrines that go by his name. The question of *The Church and Divorce*, discussed in another paper, is a burning one in America. We hope that the contention of the writer that 'the time has come when Church and State should unite to abolish a great abuse' affecting the very vitality of society will have the weight it deserves. He thinks that in this matter 'the Protestant Churches have been almost criminally delinquent,' and we fear that in the United States there is serious ground for the complaint. Two writers, Professors Zenos of Chicago and Percy Gardner of Oxford, give their impressions of a book which has made some stir on both sides of the Atlantic, G. B. Foster's *Finality of the Christian Religion*. Professor Gardner has read the book 'with much interest and considerable agreement,' Dr. Zenos describes it (truly enough) as a *via dolorosa*, and finds fault both with the theology and the history of the author. A short notice of the book appears elsewhere in our pages.

The Review and Expositor (July).—In this Baptist Quarterly a Methodist bishop, Dr. J. H. Vincent, describes *The Sunday School of Day after To-morrow* (we are not responsible for the dropping of the article). His paper—which reads like an address—is a vigorous plea for an improved and more effective Sunday school in the Christian Church. Dr. Vincent's long experience gives weight to

his views, whilst the passing of the years has certainly not dimmed the fire of his earnestness. Dr. A. H. Sayce writes as he has often written on *Archaeology and Biblical Criticism*. We are somewhat tired of hearing the learned professor say the same things apparently without appreciating their just bearing on his subject. Principal Fairbairn of Oxford contributes an article on *The Theological Problems and Historical Persons of Nicæa*, which gives fresh life to old discussions, and Dr. Wayland Hoyt criticizes in trenchant but not unkindly fashion Clarke's *Use of the Scriptures in Theology*. Dr. W. N. Clarke's deserved popularity as a theological writer should not blind his readers to the dangers of some of his teaching.

Bibliotheca Sacra.—The July number contains a helpful article on *The Authority of the Holy Spirit*, by the Rev. Archibald E. Thomson. Strictly speaking we cannot ascribe authority to what has not personality; therefore the argument for the personality of the Holy Spirit is carefully reviewed, and it is shown that ultimately the authority of the Bible rests on the authority of Him who gave the book. 'The Spirit is the authority that lies behind the Holy Scriptures . . . This gives to the Scriptures a unity which they would not otherwise possess.' Mr. Thomson does well to urge that Christians need not only to study their textbook, but also 'to form the acquaintance and recognize the authority of the teacher,' who is more than the guide into the mysteries of the book, inasmuch as He is its author. Another helpful thought is that unity would be imparted to the work of the kingdom by a more constant recognition of the Holy Spirit's authority in the Church. 'In guerilla warfare different bands on the same side easily come to fighting each other instead of the common enemy. When all are under one commander, such wasteful warfare is prevented.'

Dr. Gross Alexander has taken the editorship of *The Methodist Review* in succession to Bishop Tigert. He has introduced a section giving a brief introduction to each article which brings out its general character and drift. It will be welcomed by all his readers. The first paper is a study of the new volume by Dr. Curtis, *The Christian Faith, personally given in a System of Doctrine*. The book deals with 'a real man's real life. I would discover not only what a man is by nature, but also what he may become by the grace of God.' Bishop Hendrix's *College Endowments* is a timely and forcible plea for higher education. *Methodist Ideals and Oxford Aestheticism*, by James Main Dixon, has many interesting facts about Dr. Dixon and his poet son, the Macdonalds, Burne-Jones, and other members of that charmed circle. He brings out a fact that will be new to many that George Frederick Watts, the painter, was grandson to Dr. Adam Clarke, the Methodist commentator. Dr. Alexander has produced a splendid number. It is evident that he is the right man for his important post. The number for July-August is

an excellent one, with much variety of interest. There is a good paper on *The Religion of William Ewart Gladstone*, by Bishop Foss, and the editorial departments are of special value.

FOREIGN.

Theologische Literaturzeitung.—In No. 8, Dr. Adolf Deissmann introduces to German scholars, with words of hearty commendation, Dr. James Hope Moulton's *Grammar of New Testament Greek*. For nearly forty years Dr. W. F. Moulton's 'Winer' has been the *vade mecum* of Biblical students in England, America, and the Colonies, and the new grammar yields abundant proof that 'the son has inherited the *εργα* of the true student—zeal in scientific research, blended with ardent love of the New Testament.' Dr. Deissmann makes a graceful reference to the index of passages of Scripture compiled for her son's work, as for her husband's, by Mrs. Moulton; to his mind it symbolizes the continuity of sacred scholarship in two generations.

Dr. Deissmann, by reason of his own special studies and first-hand acquaintance with Greek papyri, speaks with almost unique authority, when he estimates the value of those original investigations in which Dr. James Hope Moulton has for some years been engaged. 'The list of papyri and inscriptions, to which reference has been made, shows how extensive has been the author's reading. Equipped with modern Greek scholarship, he has produced what is in all respects a completely new book.'

The importance of this valuable contribution to the scientific study of New Testament Greek is due to its skilful and scholarly use of materials made available by the discoveries of recent years. Formerly, grammarians emphasized the contrast between the language of the New Testament and Greek as commonly spoken or written. The modern method, consistently and enthusiastically followed in this volume, lays stress rather on resemblances. Dr. Deissmann still keeps an open mind in regard to the question of Semitic influence on the language of the New Testament, but he grants that many supposed Hebraisms are really 'international colloquialisms, which do not justify the isolation of New Testament philology.'

A well deserved tribute to the attractive style in which recondite themes are treated is paid by Dr. Deissmann. The work is described as 'eminently readable; we are neither stifled in the oppressive atmosphere of exegetical wranglings nor drowned in a flood of quotations.'

In No. 14, Dr. Harnack, one of the editors, gives an interesting account of his latest work: *Luke the Physician, the Author of the Third Gospel and the Acts*. Dr. Schürer, the co-editor, expresses his dissent from his friend's conclusions; but this disclaimer notwithstanding, Harnack's judgement will carry weight. Use has been made

of the careful comparisons of the vocabularies of the two writings by Klostermann, Weiss, Hawkins, &c.; but it is maintained that 'the linguistic proof is not the only one. The complete unity in the aims, interests, and narrative-methods, both of the "We-sections" and of the rest of the book, as well as the perception that the whole history is written by a physician, lead to the same conclusion.'

It is satisfactory to find that an historian, who strictly applies the scientific method to the study of the New Testament writings, can say with confidence: 'Luke's authorship of the Third Gospel and of the Acts seems to me as certain as Paul's authorship of the two Epistles to the Corinthians.' From the Gospel and from the Acts it is possible, as Harnack urges, to sketch the personality and character of Luke the physician, the author, and the Christian missionary. 'Paul and Luke are companion figures'; the former is to be understood only as a Jew who came into the closest personal contact with Hellenism, and the latter is to be understood only as a Greek who was in personal and sympathetic touch with Christianity of the early Jewish type.

Schürer's disagreement with Harnack's views rests upon his estimate of the difficulty of regarding certain statements in the Acts as the words of a companion of Paul. Some of these difficulties present real problems to the expositor; but Schürer too readily regards them as insoluble. Of the argument based upon the resemblance of language, &c., he is content to say that the facts are consistent with the acceptance of another hypothesis, viz. that the author of the 'We-sections' and the author of the Acts belonged to the same grade of culture, and would, therefore, use similar media of expression; the further suggestion is made that the author of the Acts—supposed not to be Luke—freely used his sources, at times modifying their language. If this theory removes some difficulties, it is obvious that it introduces others.

Theologische Rundschau.—In the August number Dr. A. Meyer reviews a number of works on the Fourth Gospel by Roman Catholic scholars. The recent publications of Loisy have called forth several replies from conservative theologians; Meyer welcomes their co-operation, takes notice of their adoption of the arguments of their Protestant allies, and of their sensitiveness to the effects of Protestant criticism (*Infiltrations protestantes*) upon the members of their own Church. As recently as 1891 Loisy, who was then a professor in the Paris *Institut catholique*, published in his *Histoire du Canon* an able defence of the authenticity of the Fourth Gospel. In 1897 a number of articles from his pen began to appear in the *Revue de l'histoire et de la littérature*; they cost Loisy his professor's chair, for in them he surrendered the historical trustworthiness of the Fourth Gospel and advocated a mystical interpretation of its contents, its picture of Jesus being regarded as intended not to supplement, but to supplant the Synoptists' portrait. Loisy's theory was afterwards stated more elaborately in his *Autour un petit livre* and *Le quatrième Evangile*.

Both these books appeared in 1903, and the latter was condemned by the Holy Office.

One of the most effective replies to Loisy is Nouvelle's *L'authenticité du quatrième évangile et la thèse de M. Loisy*. The author recognizes the learning and the candour of his opponent, whom he describes as 'hypnotized by his critical hypothesis.' Nouvelle makes forceful use of weapons supplied by Loisy in his earlier work; he also finds confirmatory arguments in the writings of Calmes, Drummond, Westcott, and Duchesne. Meyer sees evidence of greater originality in Nouvelle's treatment of the differences between the Synoptic narrative and the Fourth Gospel. The Jesus of the Synoptists is shown to have 'superhuman traits,' and the miracles wrought by the historic Jesus are held to be proofs of His divinity. Nouvelle has little difficulty in further demonstrating the failure of Loisy's attempt to account for the rise of the belief in the apostolic origin of the Fourth Gospel.

Another work referred to in Meyer's article is Calmes' *L'Évangile selon St. Jean. Traduction critique, introduction et commentaire*. Special praise is given to the notes on textual criticism. Calmes accepts the miracle-narratives as historical, but thinks that 'in some cases the chief interest lies in the symbolically signified sense.' In his view the author of the Fourth Gospel regards the chronological order of the discourses and conversations as secondary to the order of thought which is maintained notwithstanding change of locality. Calmes also lays stress on the accuracy of the geographical statements.

Two writers mentioned take different views of the much-debated question, 'Did our Lord keep the paschal feast?' Belser harmonizes the statements in the Fourth Gospel with those in the Synoptics. Schneid, in his monograph on *Der Montag des Abendmahles und Todes unseres Herrn Jesus Christus*, finds a new way out of the difficulty. He quotes a passage from the Mishnah (*Pesachim* iv. 5), which states that the Galileans observed the 14th Nisan as a day of rest. His theory is that the Jewish hierarchy kept the passover on the 14th, but the Galileans on the 13th, with a day of rest on the 14th. The Gospels, however, represent our Lord as observing the day recognized by the Jews, and Schneid's suggestion fails to account for the Synoptic allusions to breaches of the festival regulations.

Meyer says that Protestant students ought not to neglect the contributions of Roman Catholic scholars to the critical study of the Gospels. Dom Chapman, an English Benedictine, works on the assumption of the correctness of the 'Two-sources' theory, and regards the Fourth Gospel as harmonizing the narratives of Luke and Mark.

During the past few months a number of papers of exceptional biographical and literary interest have appeared in the *Mercure de France*, among which may be mentioned *The History of a Biography: Carlyle and Froude*. In the number for August 1st there is the first of what promises to be an elaborate and appreciative study of the romances of George Meredith, by Marguerite Yersin.

